

John Elphinstone

S O M E

# LETTERS.

Containing,

An account of what seemed most remarkable in Switzerland, Italy, &c.

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Written by

G. BURNET, D. D. to T. H. R. B.

G. B. — To the Honourable Rob. Boyle



At ROTTERDAM,

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LETTERS

ALPHABET

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*Balmerino ~*

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S O M E  
LETTERS,

*Containing,*

An account of what seemed most remarkable  
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*Zurich, the first of September, 1685.*

S I R,

**I**T is so common to write travels, that for one who has seen so little and as it were in haste, it may look like a presumptuous affectation to be reckoned among Voyagers, if he attempts to say any thing upon so short a ramble, and concerning places so much visited and by consequence so well known: yet having had opportunities that doe not offer themselves to all that travel, and having joined to those a curiositie almost equal to the advantages I enjoyed, I fancy it will not be an ingrateful entertainment if I give you some account of those things that pleased me most in the places through which I have passed: But I will avoid saying such things as occurre in ordinary Books, for which I referre you to the Prints, for as you know that I have no great inclination to copie what others have said; so a traveller has not

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leisure nor humour enough for so dull an employment.

*I saw the  
the Cou  
heavy in  
1685*  
As I came all the way from Paris to Lions, I was amazed to see so much misery as appeared, not only in Villages, but even in big Towns, where all the marks of an extream poverty, showed themselves both in the Buildings, the Cloths, and almost in the looks of the Inhabitants. And a general dispeopling in all the Towns, was a very visible effect of the hardships under which they lay.

*M. Spon*  
I need tell you nothing of the irregular and yet magnificent situation of Lions, of the noble Rivers that meet there, of the Rock cut from so vast a height for a prison, of the Carthusians Gardens, of the Town-house, of the Jesuites Colledge and Library, of the famous Nunnery of S. Peter, of the Churches, particularly S. Irenees, of the remnants of the Aqueducts, of the Columns and the old Mosaick in the Abbey Dene. In short Mr. Spon has given such an account of the curiosities there, that it were a very presumptuous attempt to offer to come after him.

The speech of Claudius engraven on a plate of Brass, and set in the end of the low walk in the Town-house, is one of the noblest Antiquities in the World, by which we see the way of writing and pointing in that age very copiously. The shield of Silver of 22 pound weight in which some remains of gilding doe yet appear, and that seems to represent that generous action of Scipios, of restoring a fair captive to a Celtiberian Prince, is certainly the noblest piece of Plate that is now extant, the embossing of it is so fine and so entire, that it is indeed invaluable: and if there were an inscription upon it to put us beyond conjecture it

*This shield of silver was found in the were  
Rhodne near abignon an. 1665. v. m. Spon*

were yet much more inestimable.

A great many inscriptions are to be seen of the late and Barbarous ages as *Bonum Memorium*, and *Epitaphium hunc*: there are 23. inscriptions in the Garden of the Fathers of *mercy*, but so placed as it shews how little those who possesse them doe either understand or value them. I shall only give you one because I made a little reflection on it, tho it is not perhaps too well grounded, because none of the Criticks have thought on it.

The inscription is this, *D. M. Et Memoriae Aeternae Sutiae Anthidis. Quae vixit Annis XXV. M. XI. DV. Quae dum Nimia pia fuit, facta est Impia: & Attio Probatolo, Cecalins Calistio Conjux & Pater, & sibi vivo ponendum curavit & sub ascia dedicavit.* This must be towards the barbarous age, as appears by the false Latine in *Nimia*: But the inscription seems so extravagant, that a man dedicating a Burial-stone for his Wife and son, and under which himself was to be laid, with ceremonies of Religion, should tax his Wife of impiety, and give so extraordinary an account of her becoming so throw an excessse of pietie that it deserves some consideration.

It seems the impiety was publick, otherwise a Husband would not have recorded it in such a manner, and it is plain that he thought it rose from an excessse of piety.

I need not examine the conjectures of others: but will chuse rather to give you my own, and submit it to your censure.

It seems to me that this *Sutia Anthis* was a Christian, for the Christians because they would not worship the Gods of the Heathens, nor participate with them in their sacred rites, were ac-



cused both of Atheisme and impiety. This is so often objected, and the Fathers in their Apologies have answered it so often, that it were lost labour to prove it: so this Wife of *Cerealius Calistio* having turned Christian, it seems he thought he was bound to take some notice of it in the inscription: But by it he gives a honourable character of the Christian doctrine at the same time that he seems to accuse it; that through an excess of piety his Wife was caried to it: since a mind seriously possessed with a true sense of piety could not avoid the falling under a distast of Paganisme, and the becoming Christian.

At Grenoble there is not much to be seen, the learned Mr. Chorier has some Manuscripts of considerable antiquitie. In one of *Vegetius de re Militari*, there is a clear correction of a passage that in all the printed Editions is not sense. In the chapter of the life of the Souldiers he begins: *Scio semper mensuram a Mario Consule exactam*: *a* is in no *MS.* and *Mario Consule* is a mistake for *trium Cubitorum*, for III which are for *trium* have been read *M.* and *C.* which stands for *Cubitorum*, as appears by all that follows, was by a mistake read *Consule*; so the true reading of that passage is: *Scio mensuram trium Cubitorum fuisse semper exactam*. He shewed me another *MS.* of about 5 or 6 hundred years old, in which S. Johns Revelation is contained all exemplified in Figures, and after that come Esops Fables, likewise all designed in Figures, from which he inferred that those who designed those two Books, valued both equally and so put them together.

I will not describe the Valley of Dauphine, all to Chambery, nor entertain you with a Land-

Landſhape of the Countrey, which deſerves a better pencil then mine, and in which the heighth and rudenes of the Mountains that almoſt ſhut upon it together with the beauty, the evennes and fruitfulnes of the Valley, that is all along wel watered with the River of Liſerre make ſuch an agreeable mixture that this vaſt diverſity of objects that doe at once fill the Eye, gives it a very entertaining proſpect.

Chambery has nothing in it that deſerves a long deſcription, and Geneva is too well known to be much inſiſted on. It is a little ſtate, but it has ſo many good Conſtitutions in it that the greateſt may juſtly learn at it. The Chamber of the Corn has always two years proviſion for the Citie in ſtore, and forces none but the Bakers to buy of it at a taxed price, and ſo it is both neceſſarie for any extremities, under which the ſtate may fall, and is likewise of great advantage, for it gives a good yearlie income, that has helpt the State to pay near a Million of debt contracted during the wars, and the Citizens are not oppreſſed by it, for everie Inhabitant may buy his own Corn as he pleaſes, only publick houſes muſt buy from the Chamber. And if one will compare the faith of Rome and Geneva together by this particular, he will be forced to preferre the latter, for if good works are a ſtrong preſumption, if not a ſure indication of a good faith, then juſtice, being a good work of the firſt forme, Geneva will certainly carrie it.

X  
v. p. 10.

At Rome the Pope buies in all the Corn of the Patrimonie, for none of the Landlords can ſell it either to Merchants or Bakers. He buyes it at 5. Crowns their meaſure, and even that is ſlowly



Constable's  
Revenue

and ill payed, so that their was 800000. Crowns  
owing upon that score when I was at Rome. In  
selling this out, the measure is lessened a fifth part,  
and the price of the whole is doubled, so that  
what was bought at five Crowns is sold out at  
twelve: and if the Bakers who are obliged to take  
a determined quantitie of Corn from the Cham-  
ber, can not retail out all that is imposed upon  
them, but are forced to return some part of it  
back, the Chamber discounts to them only the  
first price of five Crowns: whereas in Geneva the  
measure by which they buy and sell is the same,  
and the gain is so inconsiderable that it is very  
little beyond the common market price, so that  
upon the whole matter the Chamber of the Corn  
is but the Marchant to the State. But if the publick  
makes a moderate gain by the Corn, that and all  
the other revenues of this small Commonwealth  
are so well imployed, that there is no cause of com-  
plaint given in the administration of the publike  
purse: which with the advantages that arise out  
of the chamber of the corn, is about 100000.  
Crowns revenue. But there is much to goe out  
of this: 300. Souldiers are payed, an Arsenal is  
maintained that in proportion to the State is the  
greatest in the world, for it contains armes for  
more men then are in the State: there is a great  
number of Ministers and Professors in all 24.  
payed out of it, besides all the publike charges and  
offices of the Government. Every one of the les-  
ser Council of 25. having a 100. Crowns, and  
every Syndic having 200. Crowns pension: and  
after all this come the accidental charges, of the  
Deputies, that they are obliged to send often to  
Paris, to Savoy and to Zwitterland, so that it is  
very

very apparent no man can enrich himself at the cost of the Publik. And the appointments of the little Council are a very small recompence for the great attendance that they are obliged to give the Publik, which is commonly 4. or 5. hours a day. The salarie for the Professors and Ministers is indeed small, not above 200. Crowns, but to ballancethis, which was a more competent provisions when it was first set off 150. years agoe, the price of all things, and the way of living being now much heightned, those employments are here held in their due reputation, and the richest Citizens in the town breed up their children so as to qualifie them for those places. And a Minister that is futeable to his character is thought so good amatch, that generalie they have such Estates either by succession or mariage as support them futeable to the rank they hold. And in Geneva there is so great a regulation upon expences of all sorts, that a small sum goes a great way. It is a surprising thing to see so much learning as one finds in Geneva, not only among those whose profession obliges them to studie, but among the Magistrates and Citizens, and if there are not many men of the first forme of learning among them, yet every bodie almost here has a good tincture of a learned education, in so much that they are masters of the Latin, they know the controversies of Religion and Historie, and they are generally men of good sense.

There is an universal Civilitie, not only towards strangers, but towards one another, that reigns all the Town over, and leans to an excesse: so that in them one sees a mixture of a French openness, and an Italian exactnes: there is indeed a little too much of the last. The



X Vids  
p. 7.  
N.B. <  
this is no  
good mark  
of their  
faith

The publike Justice of the Citie is quick and good, and is more commended then the private Justice of those that deal in trade: a want of sincerity is much lamented by those that know the Town well. There is no publike leudnes tolerated, and the disorders of that sort are managed with great addresse. And notwithstanding their neighbourhood to the Switzers, drinking is very little known among them. One of the best parts of their Law is the way of selling Estates, which is likewise practised in Switserland, and is called Subhastation, from the Roman custome of selling Sub hasta. A man that is to buy an Estate agrees with the owner, and then intimates it to the Government; who order three several proclamations to be made six weeks one after another, of the intended sale, that is to be on such a day: when the day comes, the creditors of the seller, if they apprehend that the Estate is sold at an under value may outbid the buyer; but if they doe not interpose, the buyer delivers the monie to the State, which upon that gives him his title to the Estate, which can never be so much as brought under a debate in Law, and the price is paid into the state, and is by them given either to the debtors of the seller, if he owes money, or to the seller himself.

N.B.

This custome prevails likewise in Swisse, (where also twelve years possession gives a prescription, so that in no place of the world are the titles to Estates so secure as here. The constitution of the Government is the same both in Geneva, and in most of the Cantons. The souverain-  
tie lies in the Council of 200, and this Council chuses out of its number 25. who are the lesser Coun.

Council; and the censure of the 25 belongs to the great Council, they are chosen by a sort of ballot, so that it is not known for whom they give their votes, which is an effectual method to suppress factions and resentments; since in a competition no man can know who voted for him or against him: yet the election is not so carried, but that the whole Town is in an intrigue concerning it: for since the being of the little Council leads one to the Sindicat, which is the chieffe honor of the State; this dignitie is courted here, with as active and solicitous an ambition as appears elsewhere for greater matters. The 200. are chosen and censured by the 25. so that these two Councils, which are but for life, are checks one upon another. The Magistracie is in the one and the Sovereignitie in the other. The number of 25. is never exceeded in the lesser Council, but for the greater, tho it passes by the name of the Council of 200, yet there are commonly 8. or 10. more, so that notwithstanding the absence or sicknes of some of the number they may still be able to call together near the full number. There is another Council besides these two, composed of 60. consisting of those of the 200. that have borne offices, such as Auditors, Attorney-Generals, or those that have been in other employments, which are given for a determinate number of years: this Court has no authority, but is called together by the 25, when any extraordinary occasion makes it advisable for them to call for a more general concurrence, in the resolutions that they are about to form. And this Council is of the nature of a Council of State that only gives advice but has no power in it self to enforce its advices. The

*this is strange*

*This seems a Contradiction that the whole 200 can judge the 25. & the 25. the 200.*



whole body of the Burgesſes chuſe the Sindics the firſt Sunday of the year, and there are ſome other Elections that doe likewise belong to them.

< The difference between the Burgesſes and Citizens is, that the former degree may be bought or given to Strangers, and they are capable to be of the 200, but none is a Citizen but he that is the ſon of a Burgeſſe, and that is born within the Town.

+ I need ſay no more of the conſtitution of this little Republick, its chief ſupport is in the firm alliance that has ſtood now ſo long between it and the Cantons of Bern and Zurich, and it is ſo viſibly the intreſt of all Switzerland to preſerve it as the Key, by which it may be all laid open, that if the Cantons had not forgotten their Intereſt ſo palpable in ſuffering the French to become Maſters of the *Franche Comte*, one would think that they would not be capable of ſuffering Geneva to be toucht: For all that can be done in fortifying the Town, can ſignifie no more, but to put it in caſe to reſiſt a ſurpriſe or ſcalade: ſince if a Royal Armie comes againſt it to beſiege it in forme, it is certain, that unleſs the Switzers come down with a force able to raiſe the ſiege, thoſe within will be able to make a very ſhort reſiſtance.

From Geneva I went through the Countrey of Vaud or the Valley, and Lauſanne its chief Town in my way to Bern. The Town of Lauſanne is ſituated on three Hills, ſo that the whole Town is aſcent and deſcent, & that very ſteep, chiefly on the ſide on which the Church ſtands, which is a very noble Fabrique. The South-wall of the Croſſe was ſo ſplit by an Earthquake about 30 years ago, that there was a rent made from top to bottom above a  
foot

foot wide ; Which was so closed up ten years after by another Earthquake , that now one only sees where the breach was. This extravagant situation of the Town was occasioned by a Legend of some miracles wrought near the Church : which prevailed so much of the credulity of that age , that by it the Church , and so in consequence the Buildings near it were added to the old Town , which stood on the other Hill , where there was a Town made on the high-way from the Lake into Switzerland , to which the chief priviledges of the Town , particularly the judicature of life & death , do still belong. Between Geneva and this lies the Lake which at the one end is called the Lake of Geneva , and at the other the Lake of Lausanne. I need not mention the dimensions of it which are so well known , only in some places the depth has never been found , for it is more then 500 fathom , the banks of the Lake are the beautifullest plots of ground that can be imagined , for they look as if they had been laid by art , the sloping is so easie and so equal , and the grounds are so well cultivated and peopled , that a more delighting prospect cannot be seen any where : the Lake is well stockt with excellent Fish : But their numbers do sensiblie decrease , and one sort is quite lost , it is not only to be ascribed to the ravenousnes of the Pikes that abound in it : but to another sort of Fish that they call Moutails , which were never taken in the Lake till within these six years last past , they are in the Lake of Neuf-chastel , and some of the other Lakes of Switzerland , and it is likely that by some conveyance under ground they may have come into Channels that fall into this Lake : the Water of the Lake is all clear and fresh. It is  
not



only a great pond made by the Rhosne that runs into it, but does not pass through it unmixed as some Travellers have fondly imagined, because sometimes a soft gale makes a curling of the Waters in some places, which runs smooth in the places over which that soft breath of Wind does not pass, the gale varying its place often. But it is believed that there are also many great Fountains all over the Lake, these Springs do very probably flow from some vast cavities that are in the neighbouring Mountains, which are as great Cisterns that discharge themselves in the Valleys which are covered over with Lakes. And on the two sides of the Alpes both North and South, there is so great a number of those little Seas, that it may be easily guessed they must have vast sources that feed so constantly those huge ponds. And when one considers the height of those Hills, the chain of so many of them together, & their extent both in length and breadth; If at first he thinks of the old Fables of laying one Hill upon the top of another, he will be afterwards apt to imagine according to the ingenious conjecture of one that travelled over them oftner then once, that these cannot be the primary productions of the Author of nature: But are the vast ruins of the first World, which at the Deluge broke here into so many inequalities.

One hill not far from Geneva, called Maudit or Cursed, of which one third is alwayes covered with Snow, is 2 miles of perpendicular height, according to the observation of that incomparable Mathematician and Philosopher Nicolas Fatio Duillier, who at 22 years of age is already one of the greatest men of his age, and seems to be born

to

*Nicol. Fatio Duillier.*

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to carry learning some fises beyond what it has yet attaind.

But now I will entertain you a little with the State of Bern, for that Canton alone is above a 3d part of all Switzerland. I will say nothing of its beginnings nor History: nor will I inlarge upon the Constitution which are all well known. It has a Counsel of 200 that goes by that name tho it consists almost of 300 & another of 25 as Geneva. The chief Magistrates are two Advoyers who are not annual as the Sindics of Geneva, but are for life; and have an authority not unlike that of the Roman Consuls: each being his year by turns the Advoyer in office. After them there are the 4 Bannerets, who answer to the Tribunes of the people in Rome: then come the two Burfars or Treasurers, one for the ancien German Territory, the other for the French Territory or the Countrey of Vaud, and the two last chosen of the 25 are called the Secrets; for to them all secrets relating to the State are discovered: and they have an authority of calling the 200 together when they think fit, and of accusing those of the Magistracy, the Advoyers themselves not excepted, as they see cause: tho this falls out seldome.

There are 72 Bailiages into which the whole Canton of Bern is divided, & in every one of those there is a Bailif named by the Council of 200, who must be a Citisen of Bern and one of the 200, < to which Council no man can be chosen till he is < married: these Bailiages are employments both of Honor and profit: for the Bailif is the Governour & Judge in that jurisdiction: since tho he has some Assessors who are chosen out of the Baliage, yet he may by his authority carry matters which way he will



will, against all their opinions, & the Bailiffs have all the confiscations & fines so that drinking being so common in the Countrey and that producing many quarrels, the Bailif makes his advantage of all those disorders: & in the 6 years of his Government according to the quality of his Bailiage he not only lives by it, but will carry perhaps 20000 Crowns with him back to Bern: on which he lives till he can carry another Bailiage: for one is capable of being twice Bailif, but tho some have been thrice Bailifs, this is very extraordinary.)

The Exactions of the Bailif are the only Impositions or charges to which the inhabitants are subjected, and these falling only on the irregularities and disorders of the more debauched, makes that this grievance, tho in some particular cases it presses hard, yet is not so universally felt: for a sober and regular man is in no danger. Many in this Cantons are as in England Lords of Castels or Mannors, and have a Jurisdiction annexed to their Estates and name their Magistrate, who is called the Castellan. In matters of small consequence there lies no appeal from him to the Bailif, but beyond the value of two Pistols an appeal lies, and no sentence of death is executed till it is confirmed at Bern. There lies also an appeal from the Bailif to the Council at Bern. There are many complaints of the injustice of the Bailifs: but ther law is short and clear, so that a sute is soon ended, two or three hearings is the most that even an intricate sute amounts to, either in the first instance before the Bailif, or in the second Judgment at Bern. The Citizens of Bern consider these Bailiages as their inheritance and they are courted in this State perhaps with as much

much Intrigue as was ever used among the Romans in the distribution of their Provinces: and so little signifie the best Regulations when there are Intrinsick diseases in a state, that tho there is all possible precaution used in the nomination of these Bailifs yet that has not preserved this state from falling under so great a mischief by those little Provinces; that as it has already in a great measure corrupted their morals, so it may likely turn in conclusion + to the ruine of this Republike. All the Electors give their voices by ballot, so that they are free from all after game in the nomination of the person: all the kindred of the pretenders even to the remotest degrees are excluded from voting, as are also all their creditors, so that none can vote but those who seem to have no interest in the Issue of the competition; and yet there is so much intrigue and so great a corruption in the distribution of these employments, that the whole busines in whichall Bern is ever in motion is the catching of the best Baliages, on which a family will have its Eye for many years before they fall, for the Counsellors of Bern give a very small share of their Estates to their Children when they marry them: all that they propose is to make a Baliage sure to them: for this they feast and drink, and spare nothing by which they may make sure a sufficient number of votes; but it is the chamber of the Bannerets that admits the pretenders to the competition. When the Bailif is chosen he takes all possible methods to make the best of it he can, and lets few crimes pass, that carry  
 B either



either confiscations or fines after them, his justice also is generally suspected. It is true, those of the Bailiage may complain to the Council at Bern, as the oppressed Provinces did anciently to the Senate of Rome, and there have been severe judgments against some more exarbitant Bailifs, yet as complaints are not made, except upon great occasions, which are not often given by the Bailifs, so it being the general interest of the Citizens of Bern to make all possible advantages of those imployments, the censure will be but gentle, except the complaint is crying.

In Bern there is very little Trade, only what is necessary for the support of the Town. They maintain Professors in the Universities of Bern and Lausanne, the one for the German Territory which is the ancien Canton, and the other for the new conquest which is the French: In the former there are about 300 Parishes, in the other there are but about 150: But in the benefices of the German side the ancien rights of the incumbents are generally preserved, so that some benefices are worth 1000 Crowns: Whereas in the *pais des Vaud* the provisions are set of as salaires, and are generally from 100 to 200 Crowns: It is visible that those of Bern trust more to the affections and fidelitie of their Subjects, then to the strength of their Walls; For as they have never finished them, so what is built cannot be brought to a regular fortification, and it is not preserved with any care nor furnished with Canon; but if they have non on their Ranparts, they have good store  
in

in their Arsenal, in which they say there are Arms for 40000 Men.

The Peasants are generally rich, chiefly in the German side, and are all well Armed, they pay no duties to the publick, and the soil is capable of great cultivation, in which some succeed so well that I was shewed some that were by accident at Bern, who as I was told had of Estate to the value of 100000 Crowns, but that is not ordinary, yet 10000 Crowns for a Peasant is no extraordinary matter: they live much on their Milk and Corn, which in some places as about *Payern*, yields an encrease of 15 measures after one, they breed many Horses, which bring them in a great deal of money. The worst thing in the Countrey is the moisture of the Air, which is not only occasioned by the many Lakes that are in it, and the Neighbouring Mountains that are covered with Snow, some all the Summer long, and the rest till Mid-summer: But by the vast quantity of Woods of Fir-trees, which seem to fill very near the half of their soil, and if these were for the most part rooted out, as they would have much more soil, so their Air would be much purer, yet till they find either Coal or Turf for their fuel this cannot be done. I was told that they had found Coal in some places: If the Coal is conveniently situated, so that by their Lakes and Rivers, it can be easily carried over the Countrey, it may save them a great extent of ground, that as it is covered with Wood so the Air becomes thereby the more unwholsome.

B ij

They



They have some Fountains of Salt-water; but the making Salt consumes so much Wood, that hitherto it has not turn'd to any account.

The Men are generally sincere but heavy, they think it necessary to correct the moisture of the Air with liberal entertainments, and they are well furnished with all necessary ingredients; for as their soil produces good Cattle, so their Lakes abound in Fish, and their Woods in Fowl, the Wine is also light and good. The Women are generally imploied in their domestick affairs, and the Wives even of the chief Magistrates of Bern, look into all the concerns of the House and Kitchin, as much as the Wives of the meanest Peasants. Men and Women do not converse promiscuously together, and the Women are so much amused with the management at home, and enter so little into intrigues, that among them, as an eminent Phisitian there told me, they know not what vapours are, which he imputed to the idleness and the intrigues that abound elsewhere, whereas he said, among them the Blood was cleansed by their labour, and as that made them sleep well, so they did not amuse themselves with much thinking, nor did they know what Amours were: The third Adultery is punished with death, which is also the punishment of the fifth act of Fornication; of which I saw an instance while I was in Bern: For a Woman who confessed her self guilty of many Whoredoms, and designed to be revenged on some Men, that did not furnish her liberally with money, was upon that condemned

demned and executed; the manner was solemne, for the Advoyer comes into an open Bench in the middle of the Street, and for the satisfaction of the people, the whole processe was read and sentence was pronounced in the hearing of all: the Councillours both of the great and lesser Council standing about the Advoyer, who after sentence took the criminal very gently by the hand, and praied for her Soul, and after execution there was a Sermon for the instruction of the people.

The whole State is disposed for War, for every man that can bear Armes is listed, and knows his post and armes, and there are Beacons so laid over the Countrey, that the signal can run over the whole Canton in a night: And their military lists are so laid, that every man knows whither he is to come out upon the first or second, or not till the general summons. They assured me at Bern, that upon a general summons they could bring above 80000 Men together. The Men are robust and strong, and capable of great hardship, and of good Discipline, and have generally an extream sense of liberty, and a great love to their Countrey; but they labour under a want of Officers. And tho the subjects of the State are rich, yet the publick is poor, they can well resist a sudden Invasion of their Countrey; but they would soon grow weary of a long War, and the soil requires so much cultivation, that they could not spare from their labour the Men that would be necessary to preserve their Countrey: they were indeed as  

B iii
happy



happy as a people could be, when the Empe-  
 < reur had Alsace on the one hand, and the Spa-  
 < niards had the *Franche Comté* on the other, they  
 had no reason to fear their Neighbours; but  
 now that both those Provinces are in the hands  
 of the French, the case is quite altered, for as  
 < Basil is every moment in danger from the Gar-  
 < rison of Hunningen, that is but a Canon shot  
 < distant from it, so all the *Pais de Vaud* lies open  
 to the *Franche Comté*, and has neither fortified  
 places, nor good passes to secure it, so that  
 their error in suffering this to fall into the  
 hands of the French was so gross, that I took  
 some pains to be informed concerning it, & will  
 here give you this account, that I had from one  
 who was then in a very eminent post, so that  
 as he certainly knew the secret he seemed to  
 speak sincerely to me. He told me that the  
 Duke of Lorraine, had often moved in the  
 Councils of War, that the Invasion of France  
 ought to be made on that side, in which France  
 lay open, and was very ill fortified: this he re-  
 peated often, and it was known in France: so  
 that the King resolved to possess himself of the  
 < *Comté*, but used that precaution, that fearing to  
 provoke the Switzers, he offered a neutrality on  
 + that side: but the Spaniards who judged right,  
 that it was as much the interest of the Cantons,  
 as it was theirs to preserve the *Comté* in their  
 hands, refused to consent to it; but they took  
 no care to defend it, and seemed to leave that  
 to the Switzers.

In the mean while the French money  
 went about very liberally at Bern, and af-  
 ter

ter those that were most likely to make opposition were gained, the French Minister proposed to them the necessity in which his Master found himself engaged to secure himself on that side ; but that still he would grant a neutrality on their account if the Spaniards would agree to it ; and with this, all the assurances that could be given in words were offered to them , that they should never find the least prejudice from the Neighbourhood of the French, but on the contrary all possible protection. There was just cause given by the Spaniards to consider them very little in their deliberation : for they would neither accept of the neutrality , nor send a considerable force to preserve the Counte, so that it seemed almost inevitable to give way to the French proposition ; but one proposed that, which an unbiassed Assembly would certainly have accepted , that they should go themselves and take the Counte, and by so doing they would secure the neutrality , which was all that the French pretended to desire, and they might easily satisfy the Spaniards and reimburse themselves of the expence of the Invasion , by restoring the Counte to them when a General peace should be made. He laid out the misery to which their Countrey must be reduced by so powerfull a Neighbour , but all was lost labour, so he went out in a rage and published through the Town , that the State was sold and all was lost. They now see their errour too late, and would repair it, if it were possible,



*This is  
the ex  
cellent  
govt. so  
much com  
mended.  
p. 43.*

but the truth is, many of the particular Mem-  
bers of this State, doe so prey upon the publik,  
that unlesse they do with one consent re-  
form those abuses, they will never be in con-  
dition to doe much: for in many of their  
Bailiages, of which some are Abbeyes, the  
Bailifs not only feed on the Subjects, but  
likewise on the State, and pretend they are  
so far super-expended, that they discount a  
great deal of the publik revenu, of which  
they are the receivers, for their reimburse-  
ment: which made Mr. d'Erlack once say,  
when one of those accounts was presented,  
that it was very strange if the Abbey could  
not feed the Monks. It is true, the power  
of their Bannerets is so great, that one would  
think they might redres many abuses. The  
City of Bern is divided into four Bodies not  
unlike our Companies of London which are  
the Bakers, the Butchers, the Tanners, and  
the Blacksmiths, and every Citisen of Bern  
does incorporate himself into one of these  
Societies, which they call Abbeyes, for it is  
likely they were antiently a sort of a Reli-  
gions fraternity: every one of these chuses  
two Bannerets, who bear office by turns,  
from 4. years to 4. years, & every one of  
them has a Bailiage annexed to his office, which  
he holds for life. They carry their name  
from the Banners of the severall Abbeyes as the  
Gonfaloniers of Italy: and the Advoyers carry  
still their name from the ancien titles Eccli-  
cus or Advocate, that was the title of the  
chief Magistrats of the Towns in the times  
of

of the Roman Emperours. The Chamber of the four Bannerets that bear office, has a vast power, they examine and passe all accounts, and they admit all the competitors to any offices, so that no man can be proposed to the Councill of 200 without their Approbation, and this being now the chief Intrigue of their State, they have so absolute an authority in shutting men out from imployments, that their office, which is for life, is no lesse considerable then that of the Advoyer, tho they are inferior to him in rank. They manage matters with great addresse, of which this instance was given me in a competition for the Advoyership not long agoe, there was one whose temper was violent, that had made it so sure among those who were qualified to vote in it, as being neither of his kindred, nor alliance that they believed he would carry it from the other competitour, whom they favoured, so they set up a third competitour whose kindred were the persons that were made sure to him, whose advancement they opposed, and by this means they were all shut out from voting, so that the Election went according to the designe of the Bannerets. The chief man now in Bern, who was the reigning Advoyer when I was there is Mr. d'Erlack, Nephew to that Mr. d'Erlack who was gouverneur of Brisack, & had a brevet to be a Marishal of France; this is one of the noblest families in Bern, that acted a great part in shaking of the Austrian Tyranny, and they have been ever since very much distinguished there from all the rest of their Nobles.



*M. Erlack*  
*his Character*  
 Nobility; The present Head of it is a very extraordinary Man, he has a great authoritie in his Canton, not only as he is Advoyer, but by the particular esteem which is payed him: For he is thought the wisest and worthiest Man of the State; tho it is somewhat strange how he should bear such a sway in such a Government, for he neither feasts nor drinks with the rest. He is a Man of great sobrietie and gravitie, very reserved, and behaves himself liker a Minister of State in a Monarchie, then a Magistrate in a Popular Government: For one sees in him none of those arts, that seem necessarie in such a Government. He has a great Estate and no Children, so he has no projects for his Family, and does what he can to correct the abuses of the State, tho the disease is inveterate and seems past cure.

*p. 24*  
*N.B.*  
 He had a misfortune in a War that was 30 years ago, in the year 1656. between the Popish and the Protestant Cantons, the occasion of which will engage me in a short digression. The peace of Switzerland is chiefly preserved by a Law agreed on among all the Cantons, that every Canton may make what regulations concerning Religion they think fit, without prejudice to the general league. Now the Popish Cantons have made Laws, that it shall be capital to any to change their Religion, and on a set day every year they goe all to Masse, and the Masters of Families swear to continue true to the State, and firme in their Religion to their lives end, and so they pretend they punish their falling into Heresie with death and

and confiscation of goods, because it is a violation of the Faith, which is so solemnly sworn. But on the other hand in the Protestant Cantons such as turn are only obliged to go and live out of the Canton; but for their Estates they still preserve them, and are permitted to sell them. One cannot but observe more of the merciful spirit of the Gospel in the one than in the other. In two Cantons Appenzel and Glaris both Religions are tollerated, and are capable of equal priyiledges, and in some Baliages that were conquered in common by the Cantons of Bern and Friburg, in the Wars with Savoy, the two Cantons name the Bailifs by turns, and both Religions are so equally tollerated, that in the same Church they have both Masse and Sermon, so equally, that on one Sunday the Masse begins and the Sermon follows, and the next Sunday the Sermon begins and the Masse comes next, without the least disorder or murmuring.

But in the year 1656, some of the Canton of Schwitz changing their Religion, and retiring to Zurich, their Estates were confiscated, and some others that had also changed, but had not left the Canton, were taken and beheaded. Zurich demanded the Estates of the refugies, but instead of granting this, the Canton of Schwitz demanded back their subjects that they might proceed against them as delinquents, and they founded this on a Law, by which the Cantons are obliged to deliver up the criminals of another Canton when they come among them, if they are demanded by the Can-



Canton to which they belong ; but those of  
 Zurich and Bern thought this was both inhu-  
 man and unchristian, tho the Deputy of Basil  
 was of another mind, and thought that they  
 ought to be delivered up, which extreamly  
 disgusted those of Zurich. Those of Schwitz  
 committed some insolences upon the subjects  
 of Zurich, and refused to give satisfaction.  
 Upon all which a War followed between the  
 Protestant and Popish Cantons. The Cantons  
 of Bern and Zurich raised an Armie of 25000  
 Men, which was commanded by Mr. d'Erlack,  
 but was dispersed in several Bodies: And  
 the Papists had not above 6000, yet they sur-  
 prised Mr. d'Erlack with a body not much su-  
 perior to theirs, both sides after a short en-  
 gagement run, the Canon of the Canton of  
 Bern was left in the Field a whole day, at last  
 those of Lucern seeing that none stayed to de-  
 fend the Canon carried them off; this loss  
 raised such a tumult in Bern that they seemed  
 resolved to sacrifice Mr. d'Erlack; but he  
 came with such a presence of mind, and gave  
 so satisfying an account of the misfortune that  
 the tumult ceased, and soon after the War en-  
 ded. Upon this many thought, that tho the  
 Papists acted cruelly, yet it was according to  
 their Laws, and that no other Canton could  
 pretend to interpose or quarrel with those of  
 Schwitz for what they did upon that occasion.  
 Within these few years there were some quar-  
 rels like to arise in the Canton of Glaris, where  
 it was said that the equal priviledges agreed on  
 to both Religions were not preserved, but on  
 this

n. 13.

n. 6.

n. 6.

this occasion the Popes *Nuntio* acted a very different part, from that which might have been expected from him: For whereas the Ministers of that Court have been commonly the Incendiaries in all the disputes that concern Religion, he acted rather the part of a Mediator, and whereas it was visible that the injustice lay on the side of the Papists, he interposed so effectually with those of Lucern, which is the chief of the Popish Cantons, that the difference was composed.

*The Nuntio composed differences*

But to return to Bern, the buildings have neither great magnificence nor many apartments, but they are convenient, and suited to the way of living in the Countrey. The Streets not only of Bern and the bigger Towns, but even of the smallest Villages are furnished with Fountains that run continually; which as they are of great use, so they want not their beauty. The great Church of Bern is a very noble Fabrick: but being built on the top of the Hill on which the Town stands, it seems the ground began to fail, so to support it they have raised a vast Fabrick, which has cost more than the Church it self; for there is a platform made, which is a square to which the Church is one side, and the further side is a vast Wall, fortified with buttresses about 150 foot high. They told me that all the ground down to the bottom of the Hill, was dug into vaults; this platform is the chief walk of the Town, chiefly about Sun set; and the River underneath presents a very beautiful prospect: For there is a cut taken off from it for the Mills,



Mills, but all along as this cut goes the Water of Aar runs, over a sloping bank of Stone, which they say, was made at a vast charge, and makes a noble & large Cascade.

*W.B.* The second Church is the Dominicans Chappel, where I saw the famous hole that went to an Image in the Church, from one of the Cells of the Dominicans, which leads me to set down that Story at some length: For as it was one of the most signal cheats, that the World has known: so it falling out about twenty years before the Reformation was received in Bern, it is very probable that it contributed not a little to the preparing of the spirits of the people to that change. I am the more able to give a particular account of it, because I read the original process in the Latine record, signed by the Notaries of the Court of the delegates that the Pope sent to try the matter. The Record is above 130 sheets writ close and of all sides, it being indeed a large volume, and I found the printed accounts so defective, that I was at the pains of reading the whole processe, of which I will give here a true abstract.

The two famous Orders that had possessed themselves of the esteem of those dark ages, were engaged in a mighty rivalry. The Dominicans were the more learned, they were the eminentest Preachers of those times, and had the conduct of the Courts of Inquisition, and the other chief offices in the Church in their hands. But on the other hand the Franciscans had an outward appearance of more severity, a ruder habit, stricter rules, and greater

ter poverty : all which gave them such advantages in the eyes of the simple multitude , as were able to ballance the other honours of the Dominican Order. In short the two Orders were engaged in a high rivalry , but the devotion towards the Virgin being the prevailing passion of those times , the Franciscans upon this had great advantages. The Dominicans, that are all engaged in the defence of Thomas Aquinas's opinions, were thereby obliged to assert that she was born in original sin; this was proposed to the people by the Franciscans as no less then blasphemie , and by this the Dominicans began to loose ground extreamly in the minds of the people , who were strongly prepossessed in favours of the immaculate conception.

About the beginning of the 15th Century , a Franciscan happened to preach in Francfort, and one Wigand a Dominican coming into the Church, the Cordelier seeing him broke out into exclamations, praising God that he was not of an Order that profained the Virgin, or that poysoned Princes in the Sacrament, (for a Dominican had poysoned the Empereur Henry the VII. with the Sacrament,) Wigand being extreamly provoked with this bloody reproach gave him the lie, upon which a dispute arose, which ended in a tumult, that had almost cost the Dominican his life, yet he got away. The whole Order resolved to take their revenge and in a Chapter, held at Vimpsen in the year 1504. they contrived a method for supporting the credit of their Order,

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1504



der, which was much sunck in the opinion of the people, and for bearing down the reputation of the Franciscans. Four of the juncto undertook to manage the designe; for they said since the people were so much disposed to believe Dreams and Fables they must dream of their side, and endeavour to cheat the people as well as the others had done. They resolved to make Bern the Scene in which the project should be put in execution; for they found the people of Bern at that time apt to swallow any thing, and not disposed to make severe enquiries into extraordinarie matters. When they had formed their designe a fit tool presented it self, for one Jetzer came to take their habit as a Lay-brother, who had all the dispositions that were necessarie for the execution of their project: For he was extream simple, and was much inclined to Austerities, so having observed his temper well, they began to execute their project, the very night after he took the habit, which was on Lady-day 1507. One of the Friers conveyed himself secretly into his Cell, and appeared to him as if he had been in Purgatorie, in a strange figure, and he had a Box near his mouth upon which as he blew fire seemed to come out of his mouth. He had also some Dogs about him that appeared as his tormenters, in this posture he came near the Frier while he was a Bed, and took up a celebrated Story that they used to tell all their Friers, to beget in them a great dread at the laying aside their habit, which was, that one of the Order, who

was

Jetzer

1507.

was Superiour of their House at Soloturn had gone to Paris, but laying aside his habit was killed in his Lay-habit. The Frier in the Vizar said he was that person, and was condemned to Purgatorie for that crime; but he added that he might be rescued out of it by his means, and he seconded this with most horrible cries expressing the miseries which he suffered. The poor Frier (Jetzer) was excessively frightened, but the other advanced and required a promise of him to doe that which he should desire of him, in order to the delivering him out of his torment. The frightened Frier promised all that he asked of him, then the other said he know he was a great Saint, and that his prayers and mortifications would prevail, but they must be very extraordinarie. The whole Monasterie must for a week together discipline themselves with a Whip, and he must lie prostrate in the forme of one on a Cross in one of their Chappels, while Masse was said in the sight of all that should come together to it; and he added that if he did this he should find the effects of the love that the B. Virgin did bear him, together with many other extraordinarie things; and said he would appear again accompanied with two other Spirits, and assured him that all that he did suffer for his deliverance should be most gloriously rewarded. Morning was no sooner come then the Frier gave an account of this Apparition to the rest of the Convent, who seemed extreamlie surpris'd at it, they all pressed him to undergo the disci-

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pline



plaine that was enjoyned him, and every one undertook to bear his share, so the deluded Frier performed it all exactly in one of the Chappels of their Church: This drew a vast number of Spectators together who all considered the poor Frier as a Saint, and in the mean while the four Friers that managed the imposture magnified the Miracle of the Apparition to the skies in their Sermons. The Friers Confessor was upon the secret, and by this means they knew all the little passages of the poor Friers life, even to his thoughts, which helped them not a little in the Conduct of the matter. The Confessor gave him an Hostie, with a piece of Wood, that was, as as he pretended, a true piece of the Crosse, and by these he was to fortifie himself, if any other Apparitions should come to him, since evil Spirits would be certainly chained up by them. The night after that the former Apparition was renewed, and the masqued Frier brought two others with him in such Vizzards that the Frier thought they were Devills indeed. The Frier presented the Hostie to them, which gave them such a check that he was fully satisfied of the vertue of this preservatif.

The Frier, that pretended he was suffering in Purgatorie, said so many things to him relating to the secrets of his life, and thoughts, which he had from the Confessor, that the poor Frier was fully possessed in the opinion of the realitie of the Apparition. In two of these Apparitions that were both managed in the same manner the Frier in the Masque talked

talked much of the Dominican Order which he said was excessively dear to the B. Virgin, who knew her self to be conceived in Original sin, and that the Doctors who taught the contrarie were in Purgatorie: That the Storie of St. Bernards appearing with a spot on him, for having opposed himself to the feast of the Conception, was a Forgerie: but that it was true that some hideous flies had appeared on St. Bonaventures Tomb who taught the contrarie, that the B. Virgin abhorred the Cordeliers for making her equal to her Son, that Scotus was damned whose Canonisation the Cordeliers were then soliciting hard at Rome, and that the Town of Bern would be destroyed for harbouring such plagues within their walls. When the enjoined discipline was fully performed, the Spirit appeared again and said he was now delivered out of Purgatorie, but before he could be admitted to Heaven he must receive the Sacrament, having died without it, and after that he would say Masse for those, who had by their great charities rescued him out of his pains. The Frier fancied the voice resembled the Priors a little; but he was then so far from suspecting any thing, that he gave no great heed to this suspicion. Some dayes after this the same Frier appeared as a Nun all in Glorie, and told the poor Frier that she was St. Barbara, for whom he had a particular devotion, and added that the B. Virgin was so much pleased with his charity, that she intended to come and visit him: He immediately called the



Convent together, and gave the rest of the Friars an account of this Apparition, which was entertained by them all with great joy; and the Frier languished in desires for the accomplishment of the promise, that St. Barbara had made him. After some dayes the longed for delusion appeared to him, clothed as the Virgin used to be on the great Feasts, and indeed in the same Habits: there were about her some Angels, which he afterwards found were the little statues of Angels which they set on the Altars, on the great holy dayes. There was also a pulley fastned in the room over his head, and a cord tied to the Angels, that made them rise up in the air, and fliet about the Virgin which encreased the delusion. The Virgin after some endearments to himself extolling the merit of his charity and discipline, told him that she was conceived in original sin, and that Pope Julius the Second, that then reigned, was to put an end to the dispute, and was to abolish the feast of her conception, which Sixtus the Fourth had instituted, and that the Frier was to be the Instrument of perswading the Pope of the truth in that matter: She gave him three drops of her Sons blood, which were three tears of blood that he had shed over Jerusalem, and this signified that she was three hours in original sin, after which she was, by his mercy, delivered out of that State: For it seems the Dominicans were resolved so to compound the matter, that they should gain the main point of her conception in sin, yet they would

would comply so far with the reverence for the Virgin, with which the World was possessed, that she should be beleev'd to have remained a very short while in that State. She gave him also five drops of Blood in the form of a Cross, which were tears of Blood, that she had shed while her Son was on the Cross. And, to convince him more fully, she presented an Hostie to him, that appeared as an ordinary Hostie, and of a sudden it appeared to be of a deep red colour. The cheat of those supposed visits was often repeated to the abused Frier at last the Virgin told him that she was to give him such marks of her Sons love to him, that the matter should be past all doubt. She said that the five wounds of St. Lucia and S. Catherine were real wounds, and that she would also imprint them on him, so she bid him reach his hand; he had no great mind to receive a favour in which he was to suffer so much: but she forced his hand and struck a nail thro it, the hole was as big as a grain of pease, and he saw the Candle clearly thro it, this threw him out of a supposed transport into a real Agony; but she seemed to touch his hand, and he thought he smelt an oyntment, with which she anointed it, tho his Confessor perswaded him that that was only an imagination so the supposed Virgin left him for that time.

The next night the Apparition returned, and brought some linnen Clothes, which had some real or imaginary vertue to allay his torment, and the pretended Virgin said, they were some of the linings in which Christ was



wrapped, and with that she gave him a soporiferous draught, and while he was fast asleep, the other four wounds were imprinted on his body in such a manner that he felt no pain.

But in order to the doing of this the Friars betook themselves to charms, and the Subprior shewed the rest a book full of them, but he said that before they could be effectual they must renounce God, and he not only did this himself, but by a formal act put in writing signed with his Blood he dedicated himself to the Devil, it is true did not oblige the rest to this, but only to renounce God. The composition of the Draught was a mixture of some Fountainwater and Chrisme, the hairs of the Eyebrows of a Child, some Quicksilver, some grains of Incense, some what of an Easter Wax-Candle, some consecrated Salt, and the Blood of an unbaptised Child. This Composition was a secret, which the Subprior did not communicate to the other Friars. By this the poor Frier Jetzer was made almost quite insensible: when he was awake, and came out of this deep sleep, he felt this wonderful impression on his body, and now he was ravished out of measure, and came to fancy himself to be acting all the parts of our Saviours Passion; he was exposed to the people on the great Altar, to the amasement of the whole Town, and to the no small mortification of the Franciscans. The Dominicans gave him some other draughts that threw him into convulsions and when he came out of those, a voice

NB.

voice was heard, which came throu that hole which yet remains and runs from one of the Cells along a great part of the wall of the Church: for a Frier spoke thro a pipe, and at the End of the hole there was an Image of the Virgins with a litle Jesus in her armes between whom and his mother the voice seemed to Come, the Image also seemed to shed tears and a Painter had drawen those on her face so lively, that the people were deceived by it. The litle Jesus askt why she wept, and she said it was because his honour was given to her, since it was said that she was born without sin; in Conclusion the Friars did so over act this matter, that at last even the poor deluded Frier himself came to discover it and resolved to quit the order.

It was in vain to delude hinn with more Apparitions for he well nigh killd a Frier that came to hinn personating the Virgin in an other shape with a crown on her head: he also over heard the Friars once talking amongst themselves of the Contrivance and successe of the imposture, so plainly, that he discovered the whole Matter and upon that, as may be easily imagined, he was filled with all the horreur with which such a discovery Could inspire him.

The Friars fearing that an imposture which was carried on hitherto with so much successe, should be quite spoiled, and be turned against them, thought the surest way was to own the whole Matter to him, and to engage him to carry on the Cheat. They told him



in what esteem he would be, if he continued to support the reputation that he had acquired, that he would become the chieffe person of the Order, and in the end they persuaded him to goe on with the imposture: but at last they, fearing least he should discover all, resolved to poyson him: of which he was so apprehensive, that once a Loafe being brought him that was prepared with some spices, he kept it for some time and it growing green he threw it to some young wolves whelps that were in the Monastery who died immediately. His constitution was also so vigorous that tho they gave him poyson five severall times he was not destroyed by it, they also prest him earnestly to renounce God which they judgd necessary, that so their Charms might have their effect on him; but he would never consent to that; at last they forced him to take a poysoned Hostie, which yet he vomited up soon after he had swallowed it doune, that failing they used him so cruelly whipping him with an iron Chain and girding him about so strait with it, that to avoid further torment he swore to them, in a most imprecating stile, that he would never discover the secret; but would still carry it on; and so he deluded them till he found an opportunity of getting out of the Convent, and of throwing himself into the hands of the Magistrates to whom he discovered all.

The foure Friers were seised on, and put in prison, and an account of the whole Matter was sent, first to the Bishop of Lausanne and

and then to Rome, and it may be easily imagined that the Franciscans took all possible care to have it well examined, the Bishops of Laufanne and of Zyon with the Provinciall of the Dominicans were appointed to form the Proceffe. The four Friers first excepted to Jetzers credit but that was rejected, then being threatned with the question they put in a long plea ayainst that; but tho the Provinciall would not consent to that yet they were put to the question, some endured it long, but at last they all confessed the whole progresse of the imposture. The Provinciall appeared concerned; for tho Jetzer had opened the whole Matter to him, yet he would give no credit to him, on the contrary he Charged him to be obedient to them, and one of the Friers said plainly. that he was on the whole secret and so he withdrew, but he died some dayes after at Constance having paysond himself, as was believed. The Matter lay asleep some time, but a year after that a Spanish Bishop came, authorized with full powers from Rome, and the whole Cheat being fully proved the four Friers were solemnly degraded from their Priesthood, and Eight daies after, it being the last of May 1509, they were burnt in a Meadow on the other side of the River over against the great Church; The place of their Execution was shewed me, as well as the hole in the wall, thro which the Voice was Conveyed to the Image, It was certainly one of the blackest, and yet the best Carried on Cheat, that has been

n. 6.  
1509.



*Nota the peasants in poland are more  
miserable than in France, - and in Denmark  
& Sweden they were so till their Kings became  
absolute*

been ever known; and no doubt had the poor  
Frier died, before the discovery, it had pas-  
sed down to posterity as one of the greatest  
Miracles that ever was, and it gives a shrewd  
suspition that many of the other Miracles of  
that Church, were of the same nature but  
more successfully finished.

*This is the  
Remark  
is the Author  
his chief  
design in  
all this  
Book*

I shall not entertain you any further with  
the State of Bern but shall only add one ge-  
nerall remark, which was too visible not to  
be observed every where, and of too great  
importance not to deserve a particular refle-  
ction; it belongs in generall to all the Can-  
tons, but I give it here be cause I had mo-  
re occasion to make it in Bern, having seen it  
more and staid longer in it, then in the other  
Cantons.

X

Switzerland lies between France and Italy,  
that are both of them Countries incompara-  
bly more rich, and better furnished with all  
the pleasures and conveniences of life then it  
is, and yet Italy is almost quite dispeopled  
and the people in it are reduced to a misery,  
that can scarce be imagined by those who  
have not seen it; and France is in a great mea-  
sure dispeopled, and the inhabitants are re-  
duced to a poverty that appears in all the  
marks in which it can shew it self, both in  
their houses, furniture, cloths and looks.

*I saw  
the Con-  
trary  
an. 1685.*

*our Author  
is very  
partial  
in his point*

On the Contray Switzerland is extream  
full of people, and in every place in the Villa-  
ges, as well as in their towns one sees all the marks  
he can look for of plenty and wealth, their  
houses and windows are in good case, the high  
for the 10. years war, from 1688. to 1697. inclusive, was a clear mark of  
the populousness & riches of France.  
*But it is true, the Peasants are poor &  
oppressed by their masters - yet not as in Poland*

yet it is certain that the Taxes in France are too high: Nor is it a sufficient excuse to say they circulate at home, since their maintenance ways are well maintained, all people are well

Clothed and every one lives at his ease. This

observation surprised me yet more in the

Country of the Grisons, who have almost

no soil at all, being situated in Valleys that

are almost all washed away with the torrents,

that fall down from the hills, and swell their

brooks some times, so violently and so sed-

denly, that in many places the whole soil is

washed away, and yet those valleys are well

peopled, and every one lives happy and at

ease, under a gentle Government, whilst o-

ther rich and plentiful Countries are reduced

to such misery, that as many of the inhabi-

tants are forced to change their seats, so tho-

se who stay behind can scarce live and pay those

grievous Impositions that are laid upon them;

the rude people generally reason very simply

when they enter into speculations of Govern-

ment, but they feel true, tho they argue false, so

an easy Government tho joyned to an ill soil, and

accompanied with great inconveniences drawes,

or at least keeps people in it, whereas a severe

Government tho in generall ideas it may ap-

pear reasonable, drives its subjects even out

of the best and most desirable seats.

In my way from Bern to this place I pas-

sed by Soloturn, as I came throu Fribourg

in my way from Lausanne to Bern, these are

two of the Chieff of the Popish Cantons, after

Lucerne, and one sees in them a heat and bi-

gotry beyond what appears either in France

or Italy: long before they come with in the

Church doors they kneel down in the streets

The Poverty of people comes often when

from their Laziness, luxury, or ill ballanced

Trade as in Naples. p. 191. 192. Bologna is

rich tho the taxes are high. p. 166. The Venetian

peasants are miserable. p. 127. p. 90 Government arbitra-

ry. p. 159.

This Gentle government of the Grisons is justly remarkable by our Author. p. 77. p. 78. as arbitrary & tyrannical. (His memory is ill.) of its particularly p. 86.



when Masse is a saymg in its. The Images are also extream grosse. In the Chieff Church of Soloturn ther is an Image of God the Father, as an old man with a great black beard, having our Saviour on his knees, and a Pigion over his head. Here also begins a devotion at the Ave-Mary-bel which is scarce known in France, but is practised all Italy over : At noon and at Sun set the Bell rings, and all say the Ave-Mary, and a short prayer to the Virgin; but whereas in Italy they content themselves with putting off their Hats, in Switzerland they do for the most part kneel down in the Streets, which I saw no where practised in Italy except at Venice, and there it is not commonly done. But notwithstanding this extream bigotry, all the Switzers see their common interest so well, that they live in a very good understanding one with another. This is indeed chiefly owing to the Canton of Lucern, where there is a spirit in the Government very different from what is in most of the other Popish Cantons : the residence of the Spanish Ambassadour and of the Nuntio in that Town, contributes also much to the preserving it in so good a temper, it being their interest to unite Switzerland, and by this means the heat and indiscretion of the rest is often moderated: The Jesuits begin to grow as powerful in Switzerland as they are elsewhere: they have a noble Colledge and Chappel situated in the best place of Friburg. It is not long since they were received at Soloturn, where there was a revenue of 1000 Livres a year, set off for the main-

maintenance of ten of them, with this provision that they should never exceed that number; but where they are once settled they find means to break through all limitations, and they are now become so rich there, that they are raising a Church and Colledge, which will cost before it is finished above 400000 Livres, to which the French King gives 10000 Livres for the frontis-piece: For this being the Canton in which his Ambassadour resides, he thought it futeable to his glory to have a monument of his bounty raised by an Order that will never be wanting to flatter their benefactors, as long as they find their account in it.

In the same Canton there is an Abbey that has 100000 Livres of revenue, there is also a very rich House of Nuns that wear the Capuchins Habit, that as I was told had 60000 Livres of revenue, and but 60 Nuns in it, who having thus 1000 Livres a piece may live in all possible plenty in a Countrey where a very little money goes a great way: But that which surprises one most at Soloturn, is the great fortification that they are building of a Wall about the Town, the noblest and solidest that is any where to be seen, the Stone with which it is faced is a sort of coarse Marble, but of that bignes that many Stones are 10 foot long, and two foot of breadth and thickness: But tho this will be a work of vast expence and great beauty, yet it would signify little against a great Armie that would attack it vigourously. The Wall is finished on the side of the River on which the Town stands,



stands, the Ditch is very broad and the Counterscarp and Glasier are also finished, and they are working at a Fort on the other side of the River, which they intend to fortifie in the same manner. This has cost them near two millions of Livres, and this vast expence has made them often repent the undertaking; and it is certain that a fortification that is able to resist the rage of their Peasants in the case of a Rebellion is all that is needful. This Canton has two Advoyers as Bern, the little Council consists of 36, they have 12 Baliages belonging to them, which are very profitable to those that can carry them, they have one Burfar and but one Banneret. All the Cantons have their Bailiages, but if there are disorders at Bern in the choice of their Bailifs, there are far greater among the Popish Cantons where all things are sold, as a forreign Minister that resides there told me, who tho he knew what my Religion was, did not stick to own franckly to me, that the Catholick Cantons were not near so well governed as the Protestant Cantons. Justice is generally sold among them, and in their Treaties with forreign Princes, they have sometimes taken money both from the French and Spanish Ambassadors, and have signed contradictory Articles at the same time.

Baden has nothing in it that is remarkable, except its convenient situation, which makes it the seat of the general Dyet of the Cantons, tho it is not one of them, but is a Baliage that belongs in common to eight of the ancient Can-

**Cantons.** At last I came to this place, which as it is the first and most honourable of all the Cantons, so with relation to us it has a precedence of a higher nature, it being the first that received the Reformation.

This Canton is much less then Bern, yet the publike is much richer: they reckon that they can bring 50000 Men together upon 24 hours warning, their subjects live happy: for the Bailifs here have regulated appointments, & have only the hundredts penny of the fines, so that they are not tempted as those of Bern are, to whom the fine belongs entirely, to strain matters against their subjects, and whereas at Bern the constant intrigue of the whole Town is concerning their Baliages, here on the contrary it is a service to which the Citizens are bound to submit according to their constitution, but to which they do not aspire. The Government is almost the same as at Bern, and the Magistrate that is called the Advoyer at Bern, is here called the Bourgo-master. The revenue of the State is here justly accounted for, so that the publike purse is much richer then at Bern; the Arsenal is much better furnished, and the fortifications are more regular. There is a great trade stirring here, and as their Lake that is 24 miles long and about two or three broad, supplies them well with provisions, so their River carries their Manufacture to the Rhine, from whence it is conveyed as they please. One of their chief Manufacturies is Crape, which is in all respects the best I ever saw. I will not describe

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the situation of the Town; but shall content my self to tell you that it is extream pleasant, the Countrey about it is Mountanous, and the Winters are hard, for the Lake freezes quite over, only in some places the Ice never lies, which is believed a mark that some Springs rise there, which cause that heat, so also in the Lake of Geneva, tho it is never quite frozen, yet great boards of Ice lie in several parts, but these are never seen in some parts of the Lake, which is supposed to flow from the same cause.

But to return to Zurich one sees here the true ancien simplicity of the Switzers not corrupted with luxury or vanity, their Women not only do not converse familiarly with men, except those of their near kindred, but even on the Streets do not make any returns to the civility of Strangers, for it is only Strangers that put off their Hats to Women, but they make no courtesies: and here as in all Switzerland Women are not saluted, but the civility is expressed by taking them by the Hand. There is one thing singular in the constitution of Zurich, that is their little Council consists of 50 persons, but there sit in it only 25 at a time, and so the two halves of this Council, as each of them has his propre Bourgomaster, have also the Governement in their Hands by turns, and they shift every six moneths, at Mid-summer and at Christ-Masse. The whole Canton is divided into nine great Baliages and 21 Castellaneries; in the former the Bailif resides constantly, but the Castellan who is also one of the great Coun-

Council, has so little to do that he lives at Zurich, and goes only at some set times of the year to do justice.

The vertue of this Canton has appeared signally in their adhering firmly to the antient capitulations with the French, and not slackening in any article, which has been done by all the other Cantons, where money has a Sovereigne influence: but here it has never prevailed. They have converted the ancient revenues of the Church more generally to pious uses than has been done any where else, that I know of. They have many Hospitals well entertained, in one as I was told, there was 650 poor kept: but as they support the real charities, which belongs to such endowments, so they despise that vain magnificence of buildings, which is too generally affected elsewhere; for theirs are very plain, and one of the Government there said to me very sensibly, that they thought it enough to maintain their poor as poor, and did not judge it proper to lodge them as Princes.

The Dean and Chapter are likewise still continued as a corporation, and enjoy the revenues which they had before the Reformation, but if they subsist plentifully they labour hard, for they have generally two or three Sermons a day, and at least one: the first begins at five a clock in the morning. From Geneva, and all Switzerland over, there are daylie Sermons, which were substituted upon the Reformation to the Masse. But the Sermons are generally too long, and

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the Preachers have departed from the first designe of these Sermons, which were intended to be an explication of a whole Chapter, and an exhortation upon it, and if this were so contrived that it were in all not above a quarter of an hour long, as it would be heard by the people with less weariness and more profit, so it would be a vast advantage to the Preachers; For as it would oblige them to study the Scriptures much, so having once made themselves Masters of the practical parts of the Scripture, such short and simple discourses would cost them less pains, then those more laboured Sermons do, which consume the greatest part of their time, and too often to very little purpose.

Among the Archives of the Dean and Chapter, there is a vast collection of Letters, written either to Bullinger or by him; they are bound up, and make a great many Volumes in Folio, and out of these no doubt but one might discover a great many particulars relating to the History of the Reformation: For as Bullinger lived long, so he was much esteemed. He procured a very kind reception to be given to some of our English exiles in Queen Maries reigne, in particular to Sands afterwards Arch-bishop of York, to Horn afterwards Bishop of Winchester, and to Jewel Bishop of Salisbury. He gave them lodgings in the Close, and used them with all possible kindness, and as they presented some Silver-Cups to the Colledge, with an Inscription acknowledging the kind reception they had found

found there, which I saw, so they continued to keep a constant correspondence with Bullinger, after the happy re-establishment of the Reformation under Queen Elisabeth: Of which I read almost a whole Volume while I was there: Most of them contain only the general news, but some were more important and relate to the disputes then on foot, concerning the Habits of the Clergy, which gave the first beginnings to our unhappy divisions: and by the Letters, of which I read the Originals, it appears that the Bishops preserved the ancient Habits rather in compliance with the Queens inclinations, then out of any liking they had to them; so far they were from liking them that they plainly exprest their dislike of them. Jewel, in a Letter bearing date the 8 of February 1566, wishes that the Vestments together with all the other remnants of Popery might be thrown both out of their Churches, and out of the minds of the people, and laments the Queens fixedness to them: so that she would suffer no change to be made. And in January the same year, Sands writes to the same purpose. *Contenditur de vestibus Papisticis utendis vel non utendis, dabit Deus his quoque finem.* Disputes are now on foot concerning the Popish vestments whither they should be used or not, but God will put an end to those things. Horn Bishop of Winchester went further: For in a Letter dated the 16 of July, 1565. He writes of the act concerning the Habits, with great regret, and exprests some hopes



that it might be repealed, next Session of Parliament, if the Popish party did not hinder it, and he seems to stand in doubt whither he should conform himself to it or not, upon which he desires Bullingers advice. And in many Letters writ on that subject, it is asserted. That both Cranmer and Ridley intended to procure an Act for abolishing the Habits, and that they only defended their Lawfulness, but not their fitness, and therefore they blamed private persons that refused to obey the Laws. Grindal in a Letter dated the 27 of August, 1566. writes. That all the Bishops, who had been beyond Sea, had at their return dealt with the Queen to let the matter of the Habits fall: but she was so prepossessed that tho they had all endeavoured to divert her from prosecuting that matter, she continued still inflexible. This had made them resolve to submit to the Laws, and to wait for a fit opportunity to reverse them. He laments the ill effects of the opposition that some had made to them, which had extreemly irritated the Queens spirit, so that she was now much more heated in those matters then formerly, he also thanks Bullinger for the Letter that he had writ justifying the Lawful use of the Habits, which he sayes had done great service. Cox Bishop of Ely, in one of his Letters, laments the aversion that they found in the Parliament to all the propositions that were made for the Reformation of abuses. Jewel, in a Letter dated the 22 of May 1559. writes. That the Queen refused to be called Head of the Church, and  
adds,

adds, That that Title could not be justly given to any mortal, it being due only to Christ, and that such Titles had been so much abused by Antichrist, that they ought not to be any longer continued. On all these passages I will make no reflections here: For I set them down only to shew what was the sense of our Chief Church-men at that time concerning those matters, which have since engaged us into such warm and angry disputes, and this may be no inconsiderable instruction to one, that intends to write the Historie of that time. The last particular with which I intend to end this Letter, might seem a litle too learned if I were writing to a lesse knowing Man then your self.

I have taken some pains in my travels to examine all the Antient Manuscripts of the New Testament, concerning that doubted passage of St. Johns Epistle, *There are three that bear witness in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, and these three are one.* Bullinger doubted much of it because he found it not in an antient Latin Manuscript at Zurich, which seems to be about 800. years old: For it is written in that hand that began to be used in Charles the Greats time. I turned the Manuscript, and found the passage was not there; but this was certainlie the error or omission of the Copier: For before the General Epistles in that Manuscript the Preface of St Jeromes is to be found, in which he sayes that he was the more exact in that Translation, that so he might discover the

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- { fraud of the Arrians who had struck out that passage concerning the Trinitie. This Preface is printed in Lira's Bible: but how it came to be left out by Erasmus in his Edition of that Fathers works is that of which I can give no account: For as on the one hand Erasmus's sinceritie ought not to be too rashly censured, so on the other hand that Preface being in all the Manuscripts Antient or Modern of those Bibles that have the other Prefaces in them that I ever yet saw, it is not easy to imagine what made Erasmus not to publish it, and it is in the Manuscript Bibles at Basle, where he printed his Edition of S. Jeromes works. In the old Manuscript Bible of Geneva, that seems to be above 700. years old, both the Preface and the passage are extant, but with this difference from the common Editions, that the common Editions set the verse concerning *the Father, the Word, and the Spirit*, before that of *the Vater, the Blood, and the Spirit*; which comes after it in this Copie: And that I may in this place end all the readings I found of this passage in my travels, there is a Manuscript in St. Marks Librarie in Venice in three languages, Greek, Latin, and Arabick that seems not above 400. years old, in which this passage is not in the Greek, but it is in the Latin set after the other three, with a *sicut* to join it to what goes before, And in a Manuscript Latin Bible in the Librarie of St. Laurence at Florence both St. Jeromes Preface and this passage are extant: but this passage comes after the other, and is pinned to it with a *sicut* as is that of Venice: yet

*sicut*

*sicut* is not in the Geneva Manuscript. There are two Greek Manuscripts of the Epistles at Basle, that seem to be about 500. years old, in neither of which this passage is to be found: they have also an Ancient Latine Bible, which is about 800. year old, in which tho St. Jerom's Prologue is inserted, yet this passage is wanting. At Strasburg I saw 4 very Ancient Manuscripts of the New Testament in Latine: three of these seemed to be about the time of Charles the Great, but the fourth seemed to be much antienter and may belong to the seventh Century: in it neither the Prologue nor the place is extant: but it is added at the foot of the page with another hand. In two of the other the Prologue is extant, but the place is not: only in one of them it is added on the Margine. In the fourth as the Prologue is extant, so is the place likewise, but it comes after the verse of the other three, and is joined to it thus, *sicut tres sunt in cælo*.

It seemd strange to me, and it is almost incredible, that in the Vatican Librarie there are no antient Latin Bibles, where above all other places they ought to be lookt for: but I saw none above 400. year old. There is indeed the famous Greek Manuscript of great value, which the Chanoine Shelftrat, that was Librarie keeper, asserted to be 1400. year old, and proved it by the great similitude of the Characters with those that are upon S. Hippolites Statue, which is so evident, that if his Statue was made about his time the Antiquitie of this Manuscript is not to be disput-



ted. If the Characters are not so fair and have not all the marks of Antiquitie that appears in the Kings Manuscript at S. James's, yet this has been much better preserved, and is much more entire. The passage that has led me into this digression, is not to be found in the Vatican Manuscript, no more then it is in the Kings Manuscript. And with this I will finish my account of Zurich. The publike Librarie is very noble: the Hall in which it is placed, is large and well contrived; there is a very handsome Cabinet of Medals, and so I will break off; but when I have gone so much farther that I have gathered materials for another Letter of this Volume, you may look for a second entertainment such as it is from

*Your Ec.*

#### POSTSCRIPT.

I told you that in Bern the Baliages are given by a sort of a ballot, which is so managed that no mans vote is known: but I must now adde that since I was first there, they have made a considerable regulation in the way of voting, when offices are to be given, which approaches much nearer the Venetian method, and which exposes the competitours more to chance, and by consequence may put an end to the intrigues, that are so much in use for obtaining those imployments. There is a number of balls put into a box, equal to the number of those that have right to vote, and that are present; of these the third part is guilt, and two parts are only silvered, so every one takes out a ball; but none

none can vote except those who have the  
guilt balls, so that hereafter a man may  
have more then two thirds sure, and yet be  
cast in a competition.

There is one thing for which the Switzers,  
in particular those of Bern, cannot be enough  
commended, they have ever since the perse-  
cution began first in France, opened a Sanc-  
tuarie to such as have retired thither, in so  
generous and so Christian a manner, that it  
deserves all the honourable remembrances,  
that can be made of it: such Ministers and o-  
thers that were at first condemned in France,  
for the affaire of the Cevennes have not only  
found a kind reception here, but all the sup-  
port that could be expected, and indeed much  
more then could have been in reason expected.  
For they have assigned the French Ministers a  
pension of five Crowns a month, if they were  
unmarried, and have increased it to such as had  
Wife and Children, so that some had above ten  
Crowns a month pension. They dispersed them  
over all the Pais de Vaud: but the greatest num-  
ber staid at Lausanne and Vevay. In order to the  
supporting of this charge the charities of Zurich  
and the other neighbouring Protestant States,  
were brought hither. Not only the Protestant  
Cantons, but the Grisons, and some small  
States that are under the protection of the Can-  
tons, such as Neufchastel, S. Gall and some  
others have sent in their charities to Bern, who  
dispence them with great discretion, and bear  
what further charge this relief brings upon  
them, and in this last totall and deplorable dis-  
persion



perſon of thoſe Churches, the whole Countrey has been animated with ſuch a Spirit of charitie and compaſſion, that every Mans houſe and purſe has been opened to the Refugees that have paſſed thither in ſuch numbers, that ſometimes there have been above 2000. in Lauſanne alone, and of theſe there were at one time near 200. Miniſters, and they all met with a kindneſs and free heartedneſs, that lookt more like ſomewhat of the primitive age revived, then the degeneracy of the age in which we live.

Ab { I ſhall Conclude this Poſtſcript, which is already ſwelled to the bignes of a letter, with a ſad Inſtance of the Anger and heat that riſes among Divines concerning matters of very ſmall conſequence.

{ The midle way that Amirald, Daille and ſome others in France took in the matters that were diſputed in Holland, concerning the Divine Decrees and the extent of the death of Chriſt, as it came to be generally followed in France, ſo it had ſome aſſertors both in Geneva and Switzerland, who denied the imputation of Adams ſin, and aſſerted the Univerſality of Chriſts death, together with a ſufficient Grace given to all men, aſſerting with this a particular and free Decree of Election, with an efficacious Grace for thoſe included in it: theſe came to be called Univerſaliſts, and began to grow very conſiderable in Geneva: two of the Profeſſors of Divinity there being known to favour thoſe Opinions. Upon this thoſe who adhered ſtrictly to the oppoſit Doctrine, were inflamed and the contention grew to that

that height, that almost the whole town came to be concerned, and all were divided into parties. If upon this the Magistrates had enjoined silence to both parties, they had certainly acted wisely: for these are speculations so little certain and so little essential to Religion that a diversity of opinions ought not to be made the occasion of heat or faction. But tho the party of the Universalists was considerable in Geneva, it was wery small in Switzerland, therefore some Divines there, that adhered to the old received Doctrine, drew up some Articles in which all these Doctrines were not only condemned, together with some speculations that were asserted concerning Adams Immortality, and other qualities belonging to the state of innocency; but because Capel and some other Criticks had not only asserted the novelty of the points, but had taken the liberty to correct the reading of the Hebrew; supposing that some errors had been committed by the copiers of the Bible, both in the vowells and consonants, in opposition to this, they condemned all corrections of the Hebrew Bible and asserted the Antiquity of the points, or at least of the power and reading according to them, by which tho they did not engage all to be of Buxtorfs opinion, as to the Antiquity of the points, yet they shut the door against all corrections of the present punctuation. If this consent of Doctrine, for so they termed it, had been made only the standard against which no man might have taught, without in-



incurring censures; the severity had been more tollerable: but they obliged all such as should be admitted either to the Ministry, or to a Professors Chair to signe *sic sentio* so I think, and this being so settled at Bern and Zurich it was also carried by their authority at Geneva: but for those in office, the Moderator and Clerk signed it in all their names: and thus they were not contented to make only a Regulation in those matters, but they would needs, according to a maxime that has been so often fatal to the Church, enter into peoples consciences, and either shut out young men from employments, or impose a Test upon them, which perhaps some have signed not without struglings in their conscience. Yet some that set on this Test or consent are men of such extraordinary worth that I am confident they have acted in this matter out of a sincere zeal, for that which they beleeeve to be the truth only I wish they had larger, and freer souls.

The only considerable tax under which the Switzers lie, is, that when estates are sold the fifth part of the price belongs to the publike, and all the abatement that the Bailife can make, is to bring it to a 6. part, this they call the Lod which is derived from alodium: only there are some lands that are Frank-alod, which lie not under this tax: but this falling only on the sellers of Estates it was thought a just punishment, and a wise restraint on ill husbands of their Estates.

I was the more confirmed in the account I have

given you of the derivation of Advoyer, when I found that in some small towns in the Canton of Bern the chief Magistrat is still so called: as in Payerne, so that I make no doubt but as the Antient Magistrates in the time of the Romans that were to give an account of the town were called Advocates, and afterwards the Iudge in Civill Matters, that was named by the Bishops, was called at first Advocat, and afterwards Vidam or Vicedominus; so this was the title that was still continued in Bern, while they were under the Austrian and German yoke, and was preserved by them when they threw it of.

I have perhaps toucht too slightly the last difference that was in Switzerland which related to the Canton of Glaris. In the Canton of Apenzell as the two Religions are tolerated, so they are separated in different quarters, those of one Religion have the one half of the Canton, and those of the other Religion have the other half, so they live apart: but in Glaris they are mixt: and now the number of the Papists is become very low; one assured me there were not above 200. families of that Religion, and those are also so poor that their necessities dispose some of them every day to change their Religion. The other Popish Cantons seeing the danger of losing their interest entirely in that Canton, and being set on by the intrigues of a Court, that has understood well the policy of inbroiling all other States, made great use of some complaints that were brought by the Papists of Glaris, as if the pri-  
vai-



vailing of the other Religion exposed them to much injustice and oppression ; and upon that they proposed that the Canton should be equally divided into two halves as Appenzel was: this was extreamly unjust, since the Papists were not the tenth or perhaps the 20. part of the Canton. It is true it was so situated in the midst of the Popish Cantons that the Protestant Cantons could not easily come to their assistance : but those of Glaris resolved to die rather than suffer this injustice, and the Protestant Cantons resolved to engage in a war with the Popish Cantons if they imposed this matter on their brethren of Glaris : at last this temper was found that in all sutes of law between those of different Religions two thirds of the Judges should be alwaies of the Religion of the defendant, but while this contest was on foot, those, who as is beleaved, fomented it, if they did not set it on, knew how to make their advantage of the conjuncture: for then was the fortification of Huninghen at the ports of Basle much advanced, of the importance of which they are now very apprehensive when it is too late. There are six Noble Families in Bern that have still this priviledge, that when any of them is chosen to be of the Council they take place before all the Ancient Councillours, wheras all the rest take place according to the Order in which they were chosen to be of the Council.

Glaris

# THE SECOND LETTER.

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*Millan, the first of October, 1685.*

**A**FTER a short stay at Zurich we went down the Lake, where we past under the Bridge at Ripperfwood, which is a very noble work for such a Country; the Lake is there, about half a mile broad, the bridge is about twelve foot broad, but hath no Rails on either side, so that if the wind blows hard, which is no extraordinary thing there, a man is in great danger of being blown into the Lakes: and this same defect I found in almost all the Bridges of Lombardy, which seemed very strange; for since that defence is made upon so small an expence, it was amazing to see Bridges so naked: and that was more surprizing in some places where the Bridges are both high and long: yet I never heard of any mischief that followed on this, but those are sober Countries where drinking is not much in use. After two daies journey we came to Coive which is the chief Town of the Grisons, and where we found a general Diet of the three Leagues sitting, so that having staid ten daies there, I came to  
be



be informed of a great many particulars concerning those Leagues, which are not commonly known: The Town is but little, and may contain between four and five thousand Souls; it lies in a bottom upon a small brook, that a little below the Town falls into the Rhine. It is environed with Mountains of all hands, so, that they have a very short Summer, for the Snow is not melted till May or June; and it began to Snow in September when I was there: On a rising ground at the East-end of the Town is the Cathedral, the Bishops Pallace, and the Close, where the Dean and six Prebendaries live; all within the Close are Papists, but all the Town are Protestants, and they live pretty neighbourly together. Above a quarter of a mile high in the Hill one goes up by a steep ascent to Saint Lucius Chappel; My curiosity carried me thither: Tho I gave no faith to the legend of King Lucius, and of his coming so far from home to be the Apostle of the Grisons. His Chappel is a little Vault about ten foot square, where there is an Altar, and where Mass is said upon some great Festivities; it is situated under a natural Arch that is in the Rock, which was thought proper to be given out to have been the Cell of a Hermit, from it some drops of a small Fountain fall down near the Chappel; the Bishop assured me it had a miraculous vertue for weak-eyes, and that it was Oily: but neither taste nor feeling could discover to me any Oilyness: I beleieve it may be very good for the Eyes, as all Rock-water

Water is; but when I offered to shew the good old Bishop that the legend of Lucius was a Fable in all the parts of it; but most remarkably in that which related to the Grifons; and that we had no Kings in Brittain at that time, but were a Province to the Romans, that no ancient Authors speak of it, Bede being the first that mentions it; and that the pretended Letter to Pope Eleutherius, together with his answer, has evident characters of forgery in it, all this signified nothing to the Bishop, who assured me that they had a Tradition of that in their Church, and it was inserted in their Breviary which he firmly believed: he also told me the other legend of King Lucius's sister S. Emerita, who was burnt there, and of whose veil there was yet a considerable remnant reserved among their reliques: I confess I never saw a relique so ill disguised, for it is a piece of worn linnen cloath lately washt, and the burning did not seem to be a month old; and yet when they took it out of the Case to shew it me, there were some there that with great devotion rubd their beads upon it. The Bishop had some contests with his Dean, and being a Prince of the Empire he had proscribed him: the Dean had also behaved himself so insolently, that by an order of the Diet, to which even the Bishop, as was believed, consented, he was put in Prison as he came out of the Cathedral. By the common consent both of the Popish and Protestant Communities, a Law was long ago made



against Ecclesiastical Immunities : this attempt on the Dean was made four year ago; as soon as he was let out he went to Rome, and made great complaints of the Bishop, and it was thought the Popish party intended to move in the Diet while we were there for the repealing of that Law, but they did it not. The foundation of the quarrel between the Bishop and Dean was the Exemptions to which the Dean and Chapter pretended, and upon which the Bishop made some invasion: Upon which I took occasion to shew him the novelty of those Exemptions, and that in the primitive Church it was believed that the Bishop had the authority over his Presbyters by a divine right; and if it was by a divine right, then the Pope could not exempt them from his obedience: but the Bishop would not carry the matter so high, and contented himself with two maxims; the one was that the Bishop was Christs Vicar in his Diocess; and the other was that what the Pope was in the Catholick Church, the Bishop was the same in his Diocess.

He was a good natured man, and did not make use of the great authority that he has over the Papists there, to set them on to live uneasily with their neighbors of another Religion. That Bishop was antiently a great Prince, and the greatest part of the League that carries still the name of the House of God belonged to him, tho I was assured that Pregallia one of those Communities was a free State above six hundred years ago, and

that they have Records yet extant that prove this : The other Communities of this League bought their liberties from several Bishops some considerable time before the Reformation , of which the Deds are yet extant , so that it is an impudent thing to say as some have done that they shook of his yoke at that time.

The Bishop hath yet reserved a Revenue of about one thousand pound sterling a year, and every one of the Prebendaries hath near two hundred pound a year. It is not easie to imagine out of what the riches of this Country is raised, for one sees nothing but a tract of vast Mountains that seem barren Rocks , and some little Vallies among them not a mile broad , and the best part of these is washed away by the Rhine, and some Brooks that fall into it : but their wealth consists chiefly in their Hills , which afford much pasture , and in the hot months , in which all the Pasture of Italy is generally parched , the Cattle are driven into these Hills , which brings them in a Revenue of above two hundred thousand Crowns a year. The Publick is iudeed very poor , but particular persons are so rich , that I knew a great many there, who were believed to have Estates to the value of one hundred thousand Crowns. Mr. Schovestein , that is accounted the richest man in the Country, is beleevd to be worth a million, I mean of livres. The Government here is purely a Commonwealth , for in the choice of their Magistrates every man that is



above sixteen years old hath his voice, which is also the constitution of some of the small Cantons. The three leagues are, the league of the Grisons, that of the House of God, and that of the ten Jurisdictions.

They beleeve that upon the incursions of the Goths and Vandals, as some fled to the Venetian Islands, out of which arose that famous common-wealth; so others came and sheltered themselves in those Valeys. They told me of an ancient inscription lately found, of a Stone where on the one side is graven, *O-mitto Rhetos Indomitos*, and *ne plus ultra* is on the other; which they pretend was made by Julius Cæsar; the Stone on which this inscription is, is upon one of their Mountains, but I did not pass that way, so I can make no judgment concerning it. After the first forming of this people, they were cast into little States, according to the different Valleys which they inhabited, and in which Justice was administered, and so they fell under the power of some little Princes that became severe Masters; but when they saw the exemple that the Switzers had set them, in shaking off the Austrian yoke above two hundred years ago, they likewise combined to shake off theirs; only some few of those small Princes used their authority better, and concurred with the people in shaking off the yoke, and so they are still parts of the body; only Haldenstein is an absolute Sovereignty, it is about two miles from Coire to the West, on the other side of the Rhine; the whole Territory is about half a mile long at the foot

Halden-  
stein.

foot of the Alps, where there is scarce any  
 breadth. The authority of these Barons was  
 formerly more absolute than it is now, for the  
 subjects were their Slaves: but to keep together the  
 little Village; they have granted them a power  
 of naming a list for their Magistrates, the per-  
 son being to be named by the Baron; who hath  
 also the right of pardonning, a right of coin-  
 ing, and every thing also that belongs to a So-  
 veraign. I saw this little Prince in Coire, in  
 an equipage not suitable to his quality, for he  
 was in all points like a very ordinary Gentle-  
 man. There are three other Baronies that are  
 members of the Diet, and subject to it; the  
 chief belonged to the Arch-Dukes of In-  
 chpruck; the other two belong to Mr. Scho-  
 venstein and Mr. de Mont, they are the Heads  
 of those communities of which their Baronies  
 are composed; they name the Magistrates out  
 of the lists that are presented to them by their  
 Subjects; & they have the right of pardoning  
 & of confiscations: That belonging to the House  
 of Austria is the biggest, it hath five voices in  
 the Diet, and it can raise twelve hundred Men.  
 One Travers bought it of the Emperor in the  
 year 1679. he entred upon the rights of the an-  
 cient Barons, which were specified in an agree-  
 ment that past between him and his Peasants,  
 and was confirmed by the Emperour. Tra-  
 vers made many incroachments upon the Pri-  
 viledges of his Subjects, who upon that made  
 their complaints to the league; but Travers  
 would have the matter judged at Inchpruck,  
 and the Emperor supported him in this preten-  
 sion,



sion, and sent an agent to the Diet : I was present when he had his audience, in which there was nothing but general complements : But the Diet stood firm to their constitution, and asserted that the Emperor had no authority to judge in that matter which belonged only to them, so Travers was forced to let his pretensions fall.

All the other parts of this State are purely Democratical, there are three different bodies or leagues, and every one of these are an intire Government, and the assembly or Diet of the three leagues, is only a confederacy like the united Provinces or the Cantons : There are sixty-seven voices in the general Diet, which are thus divided : the league of the Grisons hath twenty-eight voices, that of the House of God hath twenty-four, and that of the Jurisdictions hath fifteen. The Jurisdictions belonged anciently to the House of Austria, but they having shaken off that authority were incorporated into the Diet, but in the last Wars of Germany, the Austrians thought to have brought them again under their yoke, yet they defended their liberty with so much vigour that the Austrians it seems thought the conquest not worth the while, and that it would not quit the cost. They were affrighted by two extraordinary actions ; in one Village which was quite abandoned by all the Men belonging to it, who left the Women in it, some hundreds as I was told were quartered, and were apprehensive of no danger from their Hostesses ; but the Women intend-  
ed

ed to let their Husbands see that they were capable of contriving and executing a bold action ; tho it must be confest it was a little too rough and barbarous for the Sex : They entred into a combination to cut the throats of all the Souldiers at one time ; the Woman that proposed this had four lodged with her , and she with her own hands dispatcht them all , and so did all the rest , not one Souldier escaping to carry away the news of so unheard of a rage. In another place a body of the Austrians came into a Valley that was quite abandoned , for the Men that had no Arms but their Clubs and Staves , had got up to the Mountains ; but they took their measures so well , and possessed themselves so of the passes , that they came down upon the Souldiers with so much fury that they defeated them quite , so that very few escaped , and it is certain that the subduing them would have proved a very hard work : It is true they are not in a condition to hold out long , the publick is so poor ; so that tho particular persons are extream rich , yet they have no publick revenue , but every Man is concerned to preserve his liberty , which is more intire here then it is even in Switzerland , but this swels often too much , and throws them into great convulsions. The league of the Grisons is the first and most ancient , and it is composed of eight and twenty Communities , of which there are eighteen Papists , and the rest are Protestants ; the communities of the two Religions live neighborly together , yet they do not suffer those of another Reli-



gion to live among them, so that every community is entirely of the same Religion, and if any one changes he must go into another community. Each community is an intire State within it self, and all persons must meet once a year to chuse the Judge and his assistants, whom they change or continue from year to year as they see cause: There is no difference made between Gentleman and Peasant, and the Tenant hath a vote as well as his Landlord, nor dare his Landlord use him ill when he votes contrary to his intentions, for the Peasants would look upon that as a common quarrel. An appeal lies from the Judge of the community to the assembly of the league, where all matters end; for there lies no appeal to the general Diet of the three leagues, except in matters that concern the conquered Countries, which belong in common to all the three. There is one chosen by the Deputies for the Assembly of the league, who is called the head of the league, that can call them together as he sees cause, and can likewise bring a cause that hath been once judged to a second hearing. Ilants is the chief Town of this league where their Diet meets. The second league is that of the House of God, in which there are four and twenty communities; the Burgomaster of Coire is always the head of this league: This league is almost wholly Protestant, and the two Valleys of the upper and lower Engedin are pointed out by the Papists, as little less than Cannibals towards such Catholics as come among them; but Frier Sfondrato, Nephew

phew to Pope Gregorie the fourteenth, *Sfor-*  
 whose Mother the Marques of Bergominero, *drato*  
 that was in England, hath married, found the  
 contrary of all this to be true to his great re-  
 gret. About eighteen year ago he was be-  
 lieved to have wrought miracles, and he be-  
 came so much in love with the Crown of Mar-  
 tyrdom that he went through the Engedin,  
 not doubting but he would find there that  
 which he desired. His Brother had come  
 sometime before into the Countrey to drink  
 mineral Waters, and was well known to the  
 Gentry, so some of these hearing of the Friers  
 coming went and waited on him; and he was en-  
 tertained by them in their Houses and conveied  
 through the Contrey; tho he took all possible  
 wayes to provoke them, for he was often rail-  
 ing at their Religion, but to all that they made  
 no answer, only they continued their civilities  
 still, which did so inrage the warm Frier that  
 he went to Bormio, and there (as was beleaved)  
 he died of grief. An accident fell out five year  
 ago, that the people of the Country esteemed  
 a sort of a miracle. The Papists in their Pro-  
 cessions go sometimes out of one community  
 into another, and when they pass through  
 Protestant communities they lower the Cross,  
 and give over singing till they are again upon  
 Popish ground; but then they went on bear-  
 ing up the Cross, and singing as they went,  
 upon which the Protestants stopt them, and  
 would not suffer them to go on in that manner:  
 they finding that they were not equal in num-  
 ber to the Protestants, sent to a Catholick  
 com-



community and desired them to come to their assistance : Two thousand came , and by all appearance the dispute would have had a bloody issue : for the Protestants were resolved to maintain the rights of their community , and the others were no less resolved to force their way : but an extraordinary thick mist arose , and through it the Papists fancied they saw a vast body of men , which was no other then a Wood : but terrified with the appearance of such a number they retired , and this saved a little battel that probably would not only have ended in the shedding much blood , but might have very much disordered the whole constitution and union of their leagues. The Papists of quality endeavour much to keep their people in order , but they acknowledged to my self , that the Protestants were much peaceabler then the Catholicks. The Jurisdictions have fifteen votes in she general Diet , yet they are generally called the ten Jurisdictions , and the greater part of them are likewise of the Religion , for upon the general computation of the three leagues , the Protestants are about two thirds. In their Diets there are three Tables , one in the middle and two on either side , at every Table sits the head of the league and a Secretary near him , and from the Table there goes down benches on both hands for the Deputies from the communities of that league : They hold their Diets by turns in the chief Towns of the several leagues , and it hapned to be the turn of the House of God when I was there , so they met at Coire.

The

The three leagues have a conquered Countrey in Italy divided into three districts, the Valteline, Chavennes and Bormio. When John Galeasse possessed himself of the Dutchy of Milan, and drive out Barnabas, Mastinus one of Barnabas's Sons, to whom his Father had given those three branches of the Dutchy of Milan, retired to Coire, and being hospitably received and entertained by the Bishop, when he died he gave his right to those Territories to the Cathedral of Coire: but here was a title without a force able to make it good. But when the Wars of Italy were on foot, the three leagues being much courted by both the Crowns, since they were Masters of the Passes by which either the Switzers or Germans could come into Italy, they resolved to lay hold on that opportunity: yet they had not zeal enough for their Bishop to ingage deep upon his account, so they agreed with him to pay him such a revenue, and he transferred his title to them, and they were so considerable to the Spaniards, that without much ado, they yielded those parcels of the Dutchy of Milan to them, and by this means they are possessed of them. Those accessions to this State are much better then the principal, for as certainly the Valteline which is above forty miles long and two broad, is one of the richest Valleys in the World, in which there are three Harvests some years, so the Chavennes and Bormio are much preferable to the best Valleys of the Grisons; yet the ingagement that people have to their native homes appears signally

*three harbests*

here,



here, since the Grisons have not forsaken their Countrey that they might scituate themselves so advantageously: but they love their rugged Valleys, and think the safety they enjoy in them beyond the pleasures of their acquired Dominions, so they govern them by Bailifs and Podesta's, and other Officers whom they send among them: and all the advantages that they draw from them, is that the Magistrates whom they send to govern them, do enrich themselves as the Bailifs in Switzerland do. All those Offices go round the several communities who have the right of nomination in their turn: But if there is none of the community proper for the imploiment, any one of another community may buy of them the nomination for that turn, and the community distribute among them the money that he gives them. The publick draws nothing out of those parts, except the fines, which in some years amounts to no considerable sum, and ten or twelve thousand Crowns is thought a great deal to be raised out of them in a year, so that their Subjects live happy and free of all taxes, which made their last revolt appear the more extraordinary, and it was indeed the effect of a very surprising Bigotry, when a people under the gentlest yoke in the World, who had no other grievance, but that now and then their Magistrates were of another Religion, and that the Protestant Religion was tolerated amongst them, would therefore throw off their Masters, cut the throats of their Neighbours, and cast themselves into the hands of the Spaniards,

Spaniards, who are the terriblest Masters in the World.

But to give a more particular relation of that matter, and to tell the circumstances which seem a little to lessen that rebellion and massacre, I must give an account of a part of this constitution that is very terrible, and which makes the greatest men in it to tremble: *nb.*  
 The Peasants come sometimes in great bodies and demand a Chamber of Justice from the general Diet, and they are bound to grant it alwaies when it is thus demanded, which comes about generally once in twenty years; commonly this tumult of the Peasants is set on by some of the male-contented Gentry, and generally there are a great many sacrifices made. *(p. 43.)*  
 This Court is composed of ten Judges out of every league, and twenty Advocates, who manage such accusations as are presented to them, this Court is paramount to Law, and acts like a Court of Inquisition, they give the question and do every thing that they think necessary to discover the truth of such accusations as are presented to them, and the decisions of this Court can never be brought under a second review, tho there is an exception to this, for about a hundred years ago one Court of Justice reversed all that another had done, but that is a single instance. *> n: B:*  
 The Peasants are in as great a jealousy of the Spaniards, as the Switzers are of the French, and the good Men among them are extream sensible of a great dissolution of morals that the Spanish service brings among them: For there



there is a Grison Regiment kept still in pay by the Spaniards, there are in it twelve Companies of fifty a piece, and the Captains have a thousand Crowns pay, tho they are not obliged to attend upon the service: This is upon the matter a pension paid under a more decent name to the most considerable Men of the Countrey, and this is shared among them without any distinction of Protestant and Papist, and is believed to sway their Councils much. The Peasants are apt to take fire, and to believe they are betrayed by those Pensioners of Spain, and when rumors are blown about among them, they come in great numbers to demand a Chamber of Justice, the common question that they give, which is also used all Switzerland over, and in Geneva, is that they tie the Hands of the suspected person behind his back, and pull them up to his Head, and so draw them about, by which the arms and chiefly the Shoulder-blades are dis-jointed, and when a person put to the question confesses his crime, and is upon that condemned to die, he is obliged to renew his confession upon oath at the place of execution, and if he goes off from it then, and saith that his confession was extorted by the violence of the torture, he is put again to the question: for this passes for a maxime that no man must die unless he confesseth himself guilty: Generallie when the fury of demanding this Chamber is spread among the people, the Gentry run away and leave the whole matter in the power of the Peasants, for they know not where it will

will end, and so the Peasants being named to be Judges, the Justice goes quick till some sacrifices appease the rage. Two year ago upon the sale of a common to the Bishop of Como, to which he had an ancient pretension, the Peasants having no more the liberty of the common, were enraged at their Magistrates, and a report was spread abroad, of which the first Author could never be discovered, that the Spaniards had sent a hundred thousand Crowns among them to corrupt all their Magistrates, upon this they were so set on fire, that it was generallie thought there would have been many sacrifices made to this furie: but the Gentry hapned to be then so much united, that there was none of them engaged among the Peasants, or that managed their rage: a Chamber of Justice was granted, but the matter was so ordered that it did not appear that any one was guiltie, yet some that had dealt in that transaction were fined, not so much for any fault of theirs, as to raise a fonds to pay the expences of the Chamber, and because they could not find colour enough to raise so much out of the fines, there was a fine of five hundred Livers laid on every one of the Spanish Companies. I hope this digression will not appear tedious to you, and the rather because you will soon see that it was a little necessarie to open the matter of the Rebellion and Massacre in the Valteline.

In the year 1618. there was a report set about, that the Spaniards had a treatie on foot to tear away the Valteline from the leagues,  
this



this was supported by the Fuentes, that the Governor of Milan was building upon the Lake of Como; near the Valteline there was one Ganatz a Minister, but a bloody and perfidious Man, that set on and managed the rage of the Peasants, and there was great reason to suspect some underhand dealing, tho he threw it which way he pleased. A Chamber of Justice was appointed to sit at Tassane, which is a considerable Town twelve miles from Coire, on the way to Italy, near Alta Rhetia, which is a high and small Hill, to which there is no access but on one side, where there are yet the ruins of a Castle and a Church, and which they believe was the Pallace of Rhetus the first Prince of the Countrey: There was severe justice done in this Chamber, a Priest was put to the question, and so ill used that he died in it, which is a crying thing among them. The chief suspicion lay upon one Piauta, who being of one of the best Families of the Grisons, was then one of the Captains in the Spanish Regiment; he withdrew himself from the storm, but the Peasants led on by Ganatz pursued him so, that at last they found him and hewed him in pieces, Ganatz himself striking the first stroke with an Ax, which was taken up and preserved by his Friends, and four and twenty years after, fifty or sixty of his Friends fell upon Ganatz in Coire, and killed him with the same Ax, which they brought along with them, that they might execute their design by the same tool with which their Friend was murdered. Ganatz had during the Wars

aban-

abandoned both his Religion and Profession, being indeed a disgrace to both, and had served first in the Venetian, and then in the Spanish Troops. After the peace was made he became so considerable, being supported by the Spanish Faction, that he was chosen Governor of Chavennes, and was come over to Coire to a Diet, he being then in so important a charge: but he was so much hated, that tho the murdering of a Magistrate in Office, and at a publick assembly in so terrible a manner ought to have been severely punished, yet no inquiry was made into the crime, nor was any Man so much as questioned for it. In that Chamber many that were put to the question confessed enough to hang them, some indured the question and escaped with the loss of the use of their Arms. Those of the Valteline have made use of this severity, as that which gave the rise to the Massacre, and it is very probable this might have drawn in some, that would have been otherwise more moderate, and that it did likewise precipitate that barbarous action: yet it was afterwards found out that the Plot had been formed long before, so that the industry and rage of the Priests managed by Spanish Emissaries, working upon the bigotry of the people was the real cause, and this was only made use of as a pretext to give some more plausible colours to the Massacre, which was executed some months after this Chamber was dissolved. It began while the Protestants were at Church, there were some hundreds destroyed, the rest



got all up to the Mountains , and so escaped into the Countrey of the Grisons, and those of Chavennes got likewise up to the Hills, for they are scituated just at the bottom of them.

I shall not prosecute the rest of that War, the French saw of what advantage it was to them not to let this pass from Italy into Germany fall into the hands of the Spaniards; so Bassompierre was sent to Madrid , and obtained a promise , that all things should be put in the same state in which they were before the year 1618, but when that order was sent to the Governour of Milan, it was plain he had secret orders to the contrary , for he refused to execute it : so a War followed, in which the Grisons found it was not easie for them to support the charge of it, without employing the assistance of the French. But the Spaniards pretended to have no other interest in the affairs of the Valteline then the preservation of the Catholick Religion , and to shew their sincerity, they put the Countrey into the Popes hands , knowing that he could not preserve it but by their assistance, nor restore it without securing it from all change of Religion. The French willingly undertook the cause of the Grisons , and because the Duke of Rohan was like to be the most favourable General, as being of the Religion, he was sent to command some forces that marched thither : But he saw that if the French once made themselves Masters of the passes of the Countrey, it would turn to their ruine, and

and finding the Grisons reposed an intire confidence in him, he thought it unbecoming him to be an instrument in that which he saw must be fatal to them. The Spaniards seeing the French ingage in the quarrel, and fearing lest they should possess themselves of the passes, offered to restore all the Territory in Italy, for Chavennes and Bormio had likewise revolted, only the Protestants got away so quick upon the disorders in the Valteline, that they prevented the rage of the Priests. The Spaniards ask'd these conditions, that an Amnesty should be granted for what was past, that there should be no exercise of the Protestant Religion tolerated in the Countrey, and that even the Bailifs and other Magistrates of the Religion, that came to be sent into the Valteline, should have no exercise of their Religion, and as for other persons that none of the Religion might stay above six weeks at a time in the Countrey. The Duke of Rohan seeing that conditions of so much advantage to the Leagues were offered to them, did underhand advise those of the Religion to accept of them, at the same time that he seemed openly to oppose the treaty set on foot on those terms, and that he might get out of this imploiment with the less dishonour, he advised their clapping him up in prison till they had finished their treaty with the Spaniards. So that they very gratefully to this day own that they owe the preservation of their Countrey to the wise advices of that great Man. Many that were of



the Religion returned to their Houses and Estates, but the greatest part fearing such another Massacre, have since changed their Religion, others have sold their Estates and left the Country, some stay still and go two or three hours journey to some of the Protestant communities, where they have the exercise of the Religion: And tho they may not stay in the Valteline above six weeks at a time, yet they avoid that by going for a day or two out of the Countrey once within that time, nor is that matter at present so severely examined, so that there is a calm among them as to those matters. But when it comes to the turn of the Protestant communities to send one of the Religion to those employments, he is often much embarrassed by the Bishop of Como, to whose Diocess those Territories belong, for if the Bishop fancies that they do any thing contrary to the Ecclesiastical immunities, he excommunicates them, and tho this may appear a ridiculous thing, since they are already in a worse state by being Hereticks, yet it produces a very sensible effect, for the people that are extremely superstitious, will not after that come near such Magistrates, so that about three year ago a Bailif found himself obliged to desire to be recalled, tho his time was not out, since being excommunicated he could no longer maintain the Government in his own person.

Among the Grisons the Roman Law prevails, modified a little by their Customs: one that was a little particular was executed  
when

when I was there. A Man that hath an Estate by his Wife enjoys it after her death as long as he continues a Widower, but when he marries again he is bound to divide it among the Children that he had by her. The Justice is short and simple, but it is oft thought that bribes go here, tho' but meanly in proportion to their poverty, as well as in other places. The married Women here do scarce appear abroad except at Church, but the young Women have more liberty before they are married. There is such a plenty of all things by reason of the gentleness of the Government and the industry of the people, that in all the ten dayes in which I stayed at Coire, I was but once askt an alms in the Streets. There are two Churches in Coire, in the one there is an Organ that joins with their voices in the singing of the Psalms, and there was for the honour of the Diet, while we were there an Anthem sung by a set of Musicians very regularly. In all the Churches both of Switzerland and the Grisons, except in this only the Minister preaches covered, but here he is bare-headed. And I observed a particular devotion used here in saying of the Lords Prayer, that the Ministers who wear Caps, put them off when this was said. The Women here as in Bern turn all to the East in time of praier, and also in their private devotions before and after the publick praiers: many also bow at the name of Jesus: They Christen discovering the whole head, and pouring the Water on the hind-head, using a



trine asperſion, which is alſo the practice of the Switzers. It was matter of much edification to ſee the great numbers both here and all Switzerland over that come every day to prayers morning and evening. They give here in the middle of the prayer a good interval of ſilence for the private devotions of the aſſembly. The Schools here go not above Latin, Greek and Logick, and for the reſt they ſend their Children to Zurich or Baſil. The Clergy here are very meanly provided: for moſt part they have nothing but the benevolence of their people: they complained much to me of a great coldneſs in their people in the matters of Religion, and of a great corruption in their morals: The commons are extream inſolent, and many crimes go unpuniſhed, if the perſons that commit them have either great credit or much money. The poor Miniſters here are under a terrible flavery; for the Griſons pretend that in all times they had not only the patronage of their Churches, but a power to diſmiſs their Church-men as they ſaw cauſe. How it is among the Papiſts I cannot tell, but the Dean of the Synod of the Houſe of God told me they had an ill cuſtom of ordaining their Miniſters without a Title, upon an examination of their qualifications and abilities, which took them up generally fix or ſeven hours, and when this trial was thus diſpatched, if the perſon was found qualified they ordained him, and it was too ordinary for thoſe that were thus ordained to endeavour to undermine the Miniſters

*The commons  
ſays of ſome  
men would*

nisters already in imploiment, if their people grew disgusted at them, or as they, became disabled by age, and often the interest and kinred of the intruder carried the matter against the incumbent without any colour or pretence, and in that case the Synod was bound to receive the intruder. In one half of the Countrey they preach in high Dutch, and in the other half in a corrupt Italian, which they call Romanish, that is a mixture of French and Italian. In every league they have a Synod, and as the people chuse their Ministers, so in imitation of the Switzers every Synod chuses their Antistites or superintendant, he is called the Dean among the Grisons, and hath a sort of an Episcopal power, but he is accountable to the Synod: The Office is for life, but the Synod upon great cause given may make a change. The people of this Countrey are much more livelie then the Switzers, and they begin to have some tincture of the Italian temper. They are extream civil to Strangers, but it seems in all Common-wealths Inn-keepers think they have a right to exact upon Strangers, which one finds here as well as in Holland or in Switzerland.

I shall conclude what I have to say concerning the Grisons with a very extraordinary story, which I had both from the Ministers of Coire and several other Gentlemen, that saw in April 1685. about five hundred persons of different sexes and ages that past through the Town, who gave this account of them-



themselves. They were the Inhabitants of a Valley in Tirol, belonging for the greatest part to the Arch-bishoprick of Saltsburg, but some of them were in the Diocesses of Trent and Bresse, they seemed to be a remnant of the old Waldenses, they worshipped neither Images nor Saints, and they believed the Sacrament was only a commemoration of the death of Christ, and in many other points they had their peculiar opinions different from those of the Church of Rome, they knew nothing neither of Lutherians nor Calvinists, and the Grisons, tho their Neighbors, had never heard of this nearness of theirs to the Protestant Religion. They had Mass said among them, but some years since some of the Valley going over Germany to earn somewhat by their labour, hapned to go into the Palatinate, where they were better instructed in matters of Religion, and these brought back with them into the Valley the Heidelberg Catechism, together with some other German Books, which run over the Valley, and they being before that in a good disposition, those Books had such an effect upon them, that they gave over going to Mass any more, and began to worship God in a way more suitable to the rules set down in Scripture, some of their Priests concurred with them in this happy change, but others that adhered still to the Mass, went and gave the Archbishop of Saltsburg an account of it, upon which he sent some into the Countrey to examine the truth of the matter, to exhort

hort them to return to Mass, and to threaten them with all severity, if they continued obstinate: so they seeing a terrible storm ready to break upon them, resolved to abandon their houses and all they had, rather than sin against their consciences: and the whole Inhabitants of the Valley old and young Men and Women, to the number of two thousand, divided themselves into several bodies; some intended to go to Brandenburg, others to the Palatinate, and about five hundred took the way of Coire, intending to disperse themselves in Switzerland. The Ministers told me they were much edified with their simplicity, and modesty, for a collection being made, for them, they desired only a little bread to carry them on their way. From Coire we went to Tossane, and from that through the way that is justly called Via Mala. It is through a bottom between two Rocks, through which the Rhine runs, but under ground for a great part of the way: The way is cut out in the middle of the Rock in some places, and in several places, the steepness of the Rock being such, that a way could not be cut out, there are beams driven into it; over which boards and earth are laid, this way holds an hour: After that there is for two hours good way, and we past through two considerable Villages, there is good lodging in both; from thence there is, for two hours journey terrible way, almost as bad as the Via mala; then an hours journey good way to Splu-



Splugen ; which is a large Village of above two hundred houses that are well built , and the Inhabitants seem all to live at their ease , tho they have no sort of soil but a little Meadow ground about them ; This is the last Protestant Church that was in our way , it was well indowed , for the provision of the Minister was near two hundred Crowns : Those of this Village are the Carriers between Italy and Germany , so they drive a great Trade , for there is here a perpetual Carriage going and coming ; and we were told that there pass generally a hundred horses through this Town one day with another ; and there are above five hundred carriage horse that belong to this Town. From this place we went mounting for three hours till we got to the top of the Hills , where there is only one great Inn. After that the way was tollerably good for two hours , and for two hours there is constant descent , which for the most part is as steep as if we were all the while going down stairs : At the foot of this is a little Village , called Campdolcin , and here we found we were in Italy , both by the vast difference of the Climate ; for whereas we were freezing on the other side , the heat of the Sun was uneasy here , and also by the number of the Beggars , tho it may seem the reverse of what one ought to expect , since the richest Countrey of Europe is full of Beggars ; and the Grisons that are one of the poorest States have no Beggars at all. One thing is also strange , that among the

*Campdolcin*

the Grisons, the rich Wine of the Valteline, after it is carried three daies journey, is sold cheaper then the Wine of other Countries where it grows at the door: but there are no Taxes nor Impositions here. From Campdolcin there is three hours journey to Chavennes, all in a Slow descent, and in some places the way is extream rugged and stony. Chavennes is very pleasantly scituated at the very foot of the Mountains, there runs through the Town a pleasant little River: It is nobly built, and hath a great many rich Vineyards about it, and the rebound of the Sun-beams from the Mountains, doth so increase the heats here, that the soil it as rich here as in any place of Italy. Here one begins to see a Noble Architecture in a great many houses; in short all the marks of a rich Soil and a free Government appear here. The Town stood a little more to the North, about five hundred year ago, but a Slice of the Alps came down upon it, and buried it quite, and at the upperend of the town there are some rocks that look like ruines; about which there hath been a very extraordinary expence to divide them one from another, and to make them fit places for Forts, and Castles: the marks of the tools appeared all over the Rock in one place. I measured the breadth of the one from the other, which is twenty foot, the length is four hundred and fifty foot, and as we could guess the Rock was two hundred foot high, cut down on both sides in a line as even as a wall

to

*Chavennes*

*buried by the alps*



toe wards the top of one the name Salvius is cut in great Letters a little Gothick. On the tops of those Rocks which are inaccessible, except on the one side, and to that the ascent is extream uneasie, they had Garrisons during the Wars of the Valteline: there were fifteen hundred in Garrison in that which is in the middle: There falls down frequently slices from the Hills that doe extreamly fatten the ground which they cover, so that it becomes fruite full beyond expression, and I saw a Lime Tree that was planted eight and thirty years ago, in a piece of ground which had been so covered, that was two fathom, and a half of compass. On both sides of the River, the Town and the Gardens belonging to it, cover the whole Bottom that lies between the Hills, and at the roots of the Mountains they dig great Cellars, and grot toes, and strike a hole about a foot square, ten or twelve foot into the Hill, which all the Summer long blows a fresh Air into the Cellar, so that the Wine of those Cellars drinks almost as cold as if it were in Ice; but this wind-pipe did not blow when I was there, which was towards the end of September: For the Sun opening the pores of the Earth, and rarifying the exterior Air, that which is compressed with in the cavities that are in the Mountains, rushes out with a constant Wind; but when the operation of the Sun is weakned, this course of the Air is less sensible. Before or over those Vaults they build little pleasant rooms like Summerhouses, and  
in

in them they go to collation generallie at night in Summer. I never saw bigger Grapes then grow there, there is one sort bigger then the biggest Damascene Plums that we have in England.

There is a sort of Wine here and in the Valteline, which I never heard named any where else, that is called Aromatick-wine, and as the tast makes one think it must be a composition, for it tastes like a Strong-water drawn off Spices, so its strength being equal to a weak Brandy, disposes one to believe that it cannot be a natural Wine, and yet it is the pure juice of the Grapewithout any mixture. The Liquor being singular, I informed my self particularly of the way of preparing it: the Grapes are red, tho it drinks white; they let the Grapes hang on the Vines till November that they are extream ripe, then they carry them to their Garrets, and set them all upright on their ends by one another for two or three months, then they pick all the Grapes and throw away those in which there is the least appearance of rottenness, so that they press none but sound Grapes: after they are pressed they put the Liquor in an open Vessel, in which it throws up a scum, which they take off twice a day, and when no more scum comes up, which according to the difference of the season is sooner or later, for sometimes the scum comes no more after eight daies, and at other times it continues a fortnight, then they put it in a close Vessel; for the first year it is extream sweet and luscious, but at  
the



the end of the year they pierce it a little higher then the middle of the Vessel, almost two thirds from the bottom, and drink it off till it cometh so low, and then every year they fill it up a new: once a year in the moneth of March it ferments, and cannot be drunk till that is over, which continues a month, but their other Wine ferments not at that time. Madam Salis a Lady of that Countrey who entertained us three daies with a magnificence equal to what can be done in London or Paris had Wine of this composition that was forty years old, and was so very strong that one could hardly drink above a spoonfull, and it tasted high of Spicery, tho she assured me there was not one grain of Spice in it, nor of any other mixture whatsoever. Thus the heat that is in this Wine, becomes a fire and distils it self, throwing up the more spirituouse parts of it to the top of the Hogs-head.

*M. Salis*

*Wine. 40  
years old.*

Both here and in the Grisons the meat is very juicy, the Fowl is excellent, their Roots and Herbs very tastful, but the Fish of their Lakes is beyond any thing I ever saw. They live in a great simplicity as to their habit and furniture, but they have plenty of all things, and are extream rich, the Family where we were so nobly entertained is believed to have about two hundred thousand Crowns: here the Italian custome of one only of a Family that marries takes place generally. There is a sort of Pots of Stone that is used not only in all the Kitchens here, but almost all Lombardie over, called Lavege, the Stone

Stone feels oily and scaly, so that a scale stick to ones Finger that touches it, and is somewhat of the nature of a slate, there are but three Mines of it known in these parts, one near Chavennes, another in the Valteline, and the third in the Grisons, but the first is much the best, they generally cut it in the Mine round, of about a foot and a half Diameter, and about a foot and a quarter thick, and they work it in a Mill, where the Chizzels that cut the Stone are driven about by a Wheel that is set a going by Water, and which is so ordered that he who manages the Chizzel, very easily draws forward the Wheel out of the course of the Water; they turn off first the outward coat of this Stone till it is exactly smooth, and then they separate one Pot after another by those small and hooked Chizzels, by which they make a nest of Pots all one within another, the outward and biggest being as big as an ordinary Beef-pot, and the inward Pot being no bigger then a small Pipkin; these they arm with hooks and circles of brass, and so they are served by them in their Kitchens. One of these Stone-pots takes heat and boils sooner then any Pot of Mettle; and whereas the bottoms of Mettle-pots transmit the heat so intirely to the Liquor within, that they are not insufferably hot, the bottom of this Stone-pot which is about twice so thick as a Pot of Mettle, burns extreamly; it never cracks, neither gives it any sort of tast to the Liquor that is boiled in it, but if it falls to the ground it is very brittle, yet this is repaired



paired by patching it up, for they peece their broken Pots so close tho without any cement, by sowing with Iron-wire the broken parcels together, that in the holes which they pierce with the wire there is not the least breach made, except that which the wire both makes and fills. The passage to this Mine is very inconvenient, for they must creep into it for near half a mile through a Rock that is so hard that the passage is not above three foot high, and so those that draw out the Stones creep all along upon their belly, having a Candle fastned in their forehead, and the Stone laid on a sort of Cushion made for it upon their hips: The Stones are commonly two hundred weight.

*Pleurs*

But having mentioned some falls of Mountains in those parts, I cannot pass by the extraordinary fate of the Town of Pleurs, that was about a league from Chavennes to the North in the same bottom, but on a ground that is a little more raised: The Town was half the bigness of Chavennes, the number of the Inhabitants was about two and twenty hundred persons, but it was much more nobly built; for besides the great Palace of the Franken, that cost some millions, there were many other Palaces that were built by several rich Factors both of Milan and the other parts of Italy, who liked the scituation and air as well as the freedom of the Government of this place, so they used to come hither during the heats, and here they gave themselves all the indulgences that a vast wealth could furnish.

By

By one of the Palaces that was a little distant from the Town, which was not overwhelmed with it, one may judge of the rest : It was an out-house of the Family of the Francken, and yet it may compare with many Palaces in Italy; and certainly House and Gardens could not cost so little as one hundred thousand Crowns. The voluptuousness of this place became very crying, and Madam de Salis told me that she heard her Mother often relate some passages of a Protestant Ministers Sermons that preached in a little Church which those of the Religion had there, and warned them often of the terrible judgments of God which were hanging over their heads, and that he beleev'd would suddenly break out upon them.

On the 25th of August 1618. an Inhabitant came and told them to be gone, for he saw the Mountains cleaving, but he was laughed at for his pains : He had a Daughter whom he perswaded to leave all and go with him, but when she was gone out of Town with him she called to mind that she had not locked the Door of a Room in which she had some things of value, and so she went back to do that and was buried with the rest; for at the hour of Supper the Hill fell down and buried the Town and all the Inhabitants, so that not one person escaped : The fall of the Mountains did so fill the Channel of the River, that the first news those of Chavennes had of it was by the failing of their River, for three or four hours there came not a drop of Water, but the River wrought for it self a new course and returned

25. Aug  
1618.



to them, I could hear no particular character of the Man who escaped, so I must leave the secret reason of so singular a preservation to the great discovery at the last day of those steps of divine providence that are now so unaccountable. Some of the Family of the Franken got some Miners to work under ground to find out the wealth that was buried in their Palace; for besides their Plate and furniture there was a great cash and many Jewels in the House: the Miners pretended they could find nothing, but they went to their Countrey of Tirol, and built fine Houses and a great wealth appeared, of which no other visible account could be given but this, that they had found some of that treasure. The chief Factors of Italy have been Grisons, and they told me that as the Trade of Banking began in Lombardy, so that all Europe over a Lombard and a Bank signified the same thing, so the great Bankiers of Lombardy were Grisons, and to this day the Grisons drive a great Trade in money; for a Man there of a hundred thousand Crowns Estate hath not perhaps a third part of this within the Countrey, but puts it out in the neighbouring States: And the liberty of the Countrey is such, that the Natives when they have made up Estates elsewhere, are glad to leave even Italy and the best parts of Germany, and to come and live among those Mountains, of which the very sight is enough to fill a Man with horror.

From Chavennes we went for two hours through a plain to the Lake of Chavennes, which

which is almost round, and is about two mile Diameter. This Lake falls into the Lake of Como over against the Fort Fuentes ; when we passed there the Water was so low that the Boat could not easily get over a Bank that lay between the two Lakes. The Lake of Como is about eight and forty miles long and four broad, it runs between two ranges of Hills: I did not stay long enough in Como to give any description of it, for I thought to have returned that way from a little tour that I made into the Baliages that the Switzers have in Italy, of Lugane, Locarmo and Bellinzona : but I took another course so I saw nothing in Como ; the best thing in it is a fine Chappel, which the present Pope who is a native of Como is building. From Como we went eight miles to Codelago, which belongs to the Switzers, and from thence to Lugane we had eight miles of Lake : this Lake doth not run in an even current as the other Lakes that rise under the Alps ; but the scituation of the Hills about it throws it into several courses.

The Switzers have here several little Provinces or Baliages, of which during the Wars of Italy, between the Dukes of Milan and the two Crowns in Francis the first, and Charles the fifths time, they possessed themselves as a pledge for paiment of their arrears, and they were then such considerable allies, that they made both the competitors for the Dutchy of Milan court them by turns, and became the peaceable possessors of almost all that tract



that lies between the Lake of Como to the Countrey of the Valeffi or the Valleys. The Inhabitants here are so well used, they live so free of all impositions, and the Switzers Government is so gentle, that here I must tell you another paradox, this is the worst Countrey, the least productive, the most exposed to cold, and the least capable of Trade of all Italy, and yet it is by far the best peopled of any that I saw in all Italy: There belongs to the Baliage of Lugane alone ninety-nine Villages, of which a great many are very large, and all are full of people. The twelve ancient Cantons have their turns of all the Baliages and other Offices here: but when it comes to the turn of those of the Religion, their Bailifs must be contented with private devotions in their own House, but can have no publick exercises, nor so much as a Minister in their Houses. For here as in the Valteline when the Spaniards confirmed the right of the Cantons to those Territories, they made an expresse provision, that no Religion except the Popish should be tolerated here; so that the Bailife who is the Prince often hath not the free liberty of his Religion in these parts. The Bailifs here make their advantages as well as in the other parts of Switzerland, but yet with more caution, for they take great care not to give the natives any distast, tho the miseries to which they see all their Neighbours exposed, and the abundance and liberty in which they live should by all appearance deliver their Masters from any great apprehensions

sions of a revolt : A great many Mechanicks of all sorts live in these parts, who go all Summer long over Italy, and come back hither with what they have gained, and live free of all taxes. I was told that some Nephews of Popes, in particular the Barberines had treated with the Switzers to buy this Countrey from them, and so to erect it into a principality, and that they had resolved to offer twelve thousand Crowns to the twelve Cantons, but they found it would certainly be rejected so they made not the proposition to the Diet of the Cantons as they once intended, and it is certain whensoever this Countrey is brought under a yoke like that which the rest of Italy bears it will be soon abandoned, for there is nothing that draws so many people to live in so ill a soil, when they are in sight of the best soil of Europe, but the easiness of the Government. From Lugane I went to the Lago Maggiore, which is a great and noble Lake, it is ~~sixteen~~<sup>and fifty</sup> miles long, and in most places six miles broad, and a hundred fathom deep about the middle of it, it makes a great Bay to the Westward, and there lies here two Islands called the Borromean Islands, that are certainly the loveliest spots of ground in the World, there is nothing in all Italy that can be compared to them, they have the full view of the Lake, and the ground rises so sweetly in them that nothing can be imagined like the Terrasses here, they belong to two Counts of the Borromean Familie. I was only in one of them which belongs to the head of the Familie,

Lac Maggiore

Borromean  
Islands



*The  
Borromean  
Palace*

milie, who is Nephew to the famous Cardinal known by the name of S. Carlo : on the West-end lies the Palace, which is one of the best of Italy, for the lodgings within, tho the Architecture is but ordinary, there is one noble apartment above four and twenty foot high, and there is a vast addition making to it, and here is a great collection of noble Pictures beyond any thing I saw out of Rome : The whole Island is a Garden except a little corner to the South set off for a Village of about forty little Houses, and because the figure of the Island was not made regular by nature, they have built great Vaults and Portica's along the Rock, which are all made Grottesque, and so they have brought it to a regular form by laying Earth over those Vaults. There is first a Garden to the East that rises up from the Lake by five rows of Terrasses, on the three sides of the Garden that are watered by the Lake, the Stairs are noble, the Walls are all covered with Oranges and Citrons, and a more beautiful spot of a Garden cannot be seen : There are two buildings in the two corners of this Garden, the one is only a milne for fatching up the Water, and the other is a noble Summer-house all wainscotted, if I may speak so, with Alabafter and Marble of a fine colour inclining to red, from this Garden one goes in a level to all the rest of the Alleys and parterres, Herb-Gardens and Flower-Gardens, in all which there are varieties of Fountains and Arbors, but the great parterre is a surprizing thing, for as it is well furnished with

with Statues and Fountains, and is of a vast extent, and justly scituated to the Palace, so at the further end of it there is a great Mount, that face of it that looks to the Parterre is made like a Theater all full of Fountains and Statues, the height rising up in five several rows, it being about fifty foot high, and about fourscore foot in front, and round this Mount answering to the five rows into which the Theater is divided, there goes as many terrasses of noble walks, the Walls are all as close covered with Oranges and Citrons as any of our Walls in England are with Laurel: the top of the Mount is seventy foot long and forty broad, and here is a vast Cistern into which the Mill plaies up the Water that must furnish all the Fountains: The Fountains were not quite finished when I was there, but when all is finished this place will look like an enchanted Island. The freshness of the Air, it being both in a Lake and near the Mountains, the fragant smell, the beautiful prospect, and the delighting variety that is here makes it such a habitation for Summer, that perhaps the whole VVorld hath nothing like it. From this I went to Sestio, a miserable Village at the end of the Lake, and here I began to feel a might change being now in Lombardy, which is certainly the beautifullest Countrey that can be imagined, the ground lies so even, it is so well watered, so sweetly divided by rows of Trees inclosing every piece of ground of an Acre or two Acres compass, that it cannot be denied that here

> NB.



is a vast extent of Soil above two hundred miles long, and in many places a hundred miles broad, where the whole Countrey is equal to the loveliest spots in all England or France, it hath all the sweetness that Holland or Flanders have, but with a warmer Sun and a better Air, the Neighbour-hood of the Mountains causes a freshness of Air here, that makes the soil the most desirable place to live in that can be seen, if the Governement were not so excessively severe, that there is nothing but poverty over all this rich Countrey. A Traveller in many places finds almost nothing, and is so ill furnished, that if he doth not buy provisions in the great Towns, he will be obliged to a very severe Diet, in a Countrey that he should think flowed with Milk and Hony : but I shall say more of this hereafter. The Lago Maggiore discharges it self in the River Tesine, which runs with such a force that we went thirty miles in three hours, having but one Rower, and the Water was no way swelled. From this we went into the Canale which Francis the first cut from this River to the Town of Milan, which is about thirty foot broad, and on both its banks there are such provisions to discharge the Water when it rises, to such a height, that it can never be fuller of Water then is intended it should be; it lies also so even that sometimes for six miles together one sees the line so exact that there is not the least crook : it is thirty miles long, and is the best advantage that the Town of Milan hath for Water carriage.

I will not entertain you with a long description of this great City, which is one of the noblest in the World, to be an Inland Town that hath no great Court, no commerce either by sea or any Navigable River, and that is now the Metropolis of a very small State; for that which is not Mountainous in this state, is not above sixty miles square, and yet it produces a wealth that is surprizing: It paies for an establishment of seven and forty thousand men, and yet there are not sixteen thousand souldiers effectively in it, so many are eat up by those in whose hands the Government is lodged: But the vastness of the Town, the Nobleness of the Buildings, and above all the surprizing riches of the Churches & Convents are signs of great wealth: The Dome hath nothing to commend it of Architecture, it being built in the rude Gothick manner, but for the vastness and riches of the Building, it is equal to any in Italy, S. Peters it self not excepted. It is all marble, both pavement, and Walls both outside and inside, and on the top it is all flagg'd with Marble; and there is the vastest number of niches for Statues of marble, both within and without, that are any where to be seen. It is true the Statues in some of the niches are not proportioned to the niches themselves; the Frontispiece is not yet made, it is to be all over covered with statues and bas reliefs; and the Pillars of which there are four rows in the body of the Church, have each of them eight niches at the top for so many Statues; and tho one would think this Church so full of Statues,

*Millan*

*The Dome*  
X

X In this Dome Max. misson says  
y<sup>e</sup> he saw Women selling Fruit &c.



tues, that almost every Saint hath his statue, yet I was assured they wanted seven thousand to finish the design, but these must chiefly belong to the Frontispiece: The Church as I could measure it by walking over it in an equal pace, is five hundred foot long, and two hundred wide; the Quire is wainscotted and carved in so extraordinary a manner, that I never saw Passion so well expressed in Wood; it contains sixty stalls, and they have almost all the Histories of the Gospel reprinted in them. Just under the Cupulo lies S. Carlo's body, as I was told, in a great case of Cristal of vast value, but I could not come near it; for we were there on two Holidais, and there was a perpetual crowd about it; and the superstition of the people for his body, is such, that on a Holiday one runs a hazard that comes near it without doing some reverence. His canonization cost the Town a hundred thousand Crowns, they pretend they have miracles too, for Cardinal Frederigo Borromee; but they will not set about his Canonisation, the price is so high. The Plate and other presents made to S. Carlo are things of a prodigious value; some services for the Altar are all of Gold, some very massie and set with Jewels, others so finely wrought that the fashion is thought equal to the value of the mettle; the Habits and all the other Ornaments for the Function of his Canonization are all of an incredible Wealth. He was indeed a Prelate of great merit, and according to the answer that a Frier made to Philip de Comines, when he asked him how they came

came to qualifie one of the worst of their Princes with the Title of Saint in an inscription which he read, which was that they gave that Title to all their benefactors; never man deserved of a Town this Title so justly as Cardinal Borromee did, for he laid out a prodigious Wealth in Milan, leaving nothing to his Family, but the honour of having produced so great a man, which is a real temporal inheritance to it, for as there have been, since that time, two Cardinals of that Family, so it is esteemed a Casa Santa; and every time that it produces an Ecclesiastick of any considerable merit, he is sure, if he lives to it, to be raised to this Archbishoprick, for if there were one of the Family capable of it, and that did not carry it that alone might dispose the State to a Rebellion, and he were a bold man that would adventure on a competition with one of this Family. He laid out a great deal on the Dome and consecrated it, tho the work will not be quite finished yet for some Ages, that being one of the crafts of the Italian Priests never to finish a great design, that so by keeping it still in an unfinished estate, they may be alwaies drawing great donatives to it, from the superstition of the people. He built the Arch-Bishops Palace, which is very noble, and a seminary, a colledge for the Switzers, several Parish Churches, and many Convents. In short the whole Town is full of the marks of his Wealth. The riches of the Churches of Milan strike out with amarement, the Building, the Painting, the Altars, and the Plate, and eve-



ry thing in the Convents, except their Librai-  
res, are all signs both of great Wealth and of  
a very powerful superstition, but their Li-  
braires not only here, but all Italy over are  
scandalous things, the room is often fine and  
richly adorned, but the Books are few, ill  
bound, and worse chosen, and the ignorance  
of the Priests both secular and Regular is such,  
that no man that hath not had occasion to disco-  
ver it, can easily believe it. The Convent of  
S. Victor that is without the Town, is by much  
the richest, it is composed of Canons Regular,  
called in Italy the Order of Mount Olive, or  
Olivetani; that of the Bernabites is extream  
rich, there is a Pulpit and a Confessional all in-  
laid with Agates of different colours, finely  
spotted Marbles, and of Lapis Lazulis that are  
thought almost inestimable. S. Laurence has  
anoble Cupulo, and a Pulpit of the same form  
with that of the Bernabitus. The Jesuits, the  
Theatines, the Dominicans, and S. Sebastians  
are very rich. The Cittadel is too well known  
to need a description, it is very regularly built,  
and is a most effectual restraint to keep the  
Town in order, but it could not stand out a-  
gainst a good Army three daies; for it is so little,  
and so full of buildings, that it could not resist  
a shower of Bombs. The Hospital is indeed a  
Royal Building, I was told it had ninety thou-  
sand Crowns Revenue: The old Court is lar-  
ge, and would look noble if it were not for the

*Cittadel*

*Hospital*

*new*

*The new*

*Court*

*is very*

*well*

*a palace*

new Court that is near it, which is two hun-  
dred and fifty foot square, and there are three  
rows of Corridors or Galleries all round the

Court,

will describe, & look more like

a palace than a hospital.

Court ; one in every stage according to the }  
 Italian manner, which makes the lodgings ve- }  
 ry convenient, and gives a Gallery before eve- }  
 ry door: It is true these take up a great deal of }  
 the Building, being ordinarily eight or ten >  
 foot broad; but then here is an open space that }  
 is extream cool on that side where the Sun doth }  
 not lie, for it is all open to the Air, the Wall }  
 being only supported by Pillars, at the distance >  
 of fifteen or twenty foot one from another. >  
 In this Hospital there are not only Galleries }  
 full of Beds on both sides, as is ordinary in all }  
 Hospitals; but there are also a great many }  
 Chambers in which persons whose condition }  
 was formerly distinguished are treated with a }  
 particular care. There is an out-house which }  
 is called the Lazarette, that is without the }  
 Walls, which belongs to this Hospital, it is }  
 an exact quarter of a mile square, and there }  
 are three-hundred and sixty Rooms in it, and }  
 a Gallery runs all along before the Chambers, }  
 so that as the service is convenient, the sick }  
 have a covered walk before their Doors. In }  
 the middle of this vast square there is an Octan- }  
 gular Chappel, so contrived that the sick from }  
 all their Beds may see the elevation of the }  
 Hostie and adore it: This House is for the }  
 Plague or for infectious Feavers, and the }  
 Sick that want a freer Air, are also removed }  
 hither. }

As for the devotions of this place, I saw here  
 the Ambrosian Office, which is distinguished  
 from the Roman, both in the Musick which  
 is much simpler, and in some other rites: the  
 Gospel



Gospel is read in a high Pulpit at the lower end of the Quire, that so it may be heard by all the people, tho this is needless, since it is read in a language that they do not understand: when they go to say high Mass, the Priests comes from the high Altar to the lower-end of the Quire, where the Offertory of the Bread and the VVine is made by some of the Laity, they were Nuns that made it when I was there, I heard a Capucin Preach here; it was the first Sermon I heard in Italy, and I was much surprized at many Comical expressions and gestures, but most of all with the conclusion; for there being in all the Pulpits of Italy a Crucifix on the side of the Pulpit towards the Altar; he, after a long address to it, at last in a forced transport, took it in his Arms and hugged it and kissed it: But I observed that before he kiss'd it; he seeing some dust on it, blew it off very carefully, for I was just under the Pulpit: He entertained it with a long and tender caress, and held it out to the people, and would have forced tears both from himself and them, yet I saw none shed. But if the sermon in the morning surprized me, I wondred no less at two discourses that I heard in one Church, at the same time, in the afternoon: for there were two bodies of men set down in different places of the Church all covered, and two Laymen in ordinary habits were entertaining them with discourses of Religion in a Catechetical stile: These were Confrairies, and those were some of the more devout that instructed the rest. This I never saw any where ~~else~~ so I do

do not know whether it is peculiar to Milan or not. My Conductor could not speak Latin, and the Italian there is so different from the true Tuscan, which I only knew, that I could not understand him when he was engaged in a long discourse, so I was not clearly informed of this matter; but I am apt to think it might have been some institution of Cardinal Borromees. The Ambrosian Library founded by Cardinal Frederick Borromeo is a very noble Room and well furnished, only it is too full of School-men and Canonists, which are the chief studies of Italy, and it hath too few Books of a more solid and useful learning. One part of the disposition of the Room was pleasant, there is a great number of Chairs placed all round it at a competent distance from one another, and to every Chair there belongs a Desk with an Ecritoire that hath Pen, Ink, and Paper in it, so that every Man finds tools here for such extracts as he would make. There is a little Room of Manuscripts at the end of the great Gallery, but the Library-keeper knows little of them, a great many of them relate to their Saint Charles. I saw some fragments of Latin Bibles, but none seemed to be above six hundred years old, there are also some fragments of Saint Ambroses works, and of Saint Jeroms Epistles that are of the same antiquity. I was sorry not to find Saint Ambrose's works intire, that I might have seen whether the Books of the Sacraments are ascribed to him in ancient copies, for perhaps they belong to a more modern Author. It is  
 . true



true in these Books the doctrine of a sort of  
 a corporal presence is asserted in very high ex-  
 pressions ; but there is one thing mentioned  
 in them , which is stronger against it then all  
 those citations can be for it ; for the Author  
 gives us the formal words of the praier of con-  
 secration in his time , which he prefaces with  
 some solemnity : will you know how the  
 change is wrought , hear the Heavenly words ?  
 For the Priest saith , but whereas in the pre-  
 sent Canon of the Mass , the praier of conse-  
 cration is for a good part of it very near in the  
 same words with those which he mentions , there  
 is one essential difference , for in the Canon they  
 now pray that the Hosty may be to them the  
 Body and Blood of Christ , ( which by the way  
 doth not agree too well with the notion of  
 Transubstantiation , and approacheth more  
 to the doctrine of the Lutherians : ) whereas  
 in the praier , cited by that Author , the Hosty  
 is said to be the figure of the Body and Blood  
 of Christ : here is the language of the whole  
 Church of that time , and in the most impor-  
 tant part of the divine Office , which signifieth  
 more to me then a thousand quotations out of  
 particular writers , which are but their pri-  
 vate opinions : but this is the voice of the  
 whole body in its addreses to God : and it  
 seems the Church of Rome , when the new  
 doctrine of the corporal presence was received ,  
 saw that this praier of consecration could not  
 consist with it , which made her change such  
 a main part of the Office. This gave me a  
 curiosity every where to search for anciens  
 Offices ,

n.B.

Offices, but I found none in the Abbey of St. Germain's that seemed older than the times of Charls the Great; so I found none of any great Antiquity in all Italy: Those published by Cardinal Bona, and Since by P. Mabillon, that were brought from Heidelberg, are the most ancient that are in the Vatican; but these seem not to be above eight hundred years old: There are none of the ancient Roman Offices now to be seen in the Vatican. I was amazed to find none of any great Antiquity; which made me conclude that either they were destroyed, that so the difference between Ancient and Modern Rituals might not be turned against that Church, as an undeniable Evidence to prove the Changes that she hath made in divine matters, or that they were so well kept that Hereticks, were not to be suffered to look into them. But to return to the Ambrosian Library, there is in it a Manuscript of great Antiquity, tho not of such great consequence, which is Ruffinus's Translation of Josephus, that is written in the old Roman hand, which is very hard to be read. But there is a deed in the curious Collection that Count Mascardo hath made at Verona, which by the date appears to have been written in Theodosius's time, which is the same sort of writing with the Manuscript of Ruffinus, so that it may be reckoned to have been writ in Ruffinus his own time, and this is the most valuable, tho the least known curiosity in the whole Library.

I need not say any thing of the curious works  
H in

n. b.



in Cristal that are to be seen in Milan ; the  
greatest quantities that are in Europe , are  
found in the Alps , and are wrought here ; but  
this is too well known to need any further in-  
largement. It is certain the Alps have much  
Wealth shut up in their Rocks , if the Inhabi-  
tants knew how to search for it : But I heard of  
no Mines that were wrought except iron Mi-  
nes ; yet by the colourings , that in many places,  
the Fountains make , as they run along the  
Rocks , one sees cause to believe that there are  
Mines and Minerals shut up within them. Gold  
hath been often found in the River of Arve ,  
that runs by Geneva.

*M. Settala  
his Cabinet*

The last curiosity that I shall mention of the  
Town of Milan is the Cabinet of the Chanoine  
Settala , which is now in his Brothers hands ,  
where there are a great many very valuable  
things , both of Art and Nature : there is a  
lump of Ore , in which there is both Gold and  
Silver and Emeralds , and Diamonds , which was  
brought from Peru. There are many curious  
motions where by an unseen Spring , a Ball ,  
after it hath rowled down through many wind-  
ing descents , is thrown up , and so it seems to  
be a perpetual motion , this is done in several  
forms , and it is well enough disguised to deceive  
the vulgar. Many motions of little Animals  
that run about by Springs are also very pretty.  
There is a Loadstone of a vast force that carries  
a great Chain : There is also a monstrous Child  
that was lately born in the Hospital , which is  
preserved in Spirit of Wine : it is double below ,  
it hath one breast and neck , two pair of ears , or  
vast

vast head and but one face. As for the Build-  
 ings in Milan they are big and substantial, but  
 they have not much regular or beautiful Archi-  
 tecture: The Governors Palace hath some no-  
 ble apartments in it: The chief Place of the  
 Town is that of the *Homodei*, which was built  
 by a Bankier. There is one inconvenience in  
 Milan, which throws down all the pleasure that  
 one can find in it: they have no glass windows,  
 so that one is either exposed to the Air, or shut  
 up in a Dungeon: and this so universal, that  
 there is not one house of ten that hath glass in  
 their Windows: the same defect is in Flo-  
 rence, besides all the small Towns of Italy,  
 which is an effect of their poverty: For what  
 by the oppression of the Government, what by  
 the no less squeezing oppression of their Priests,  
 who drain all the rest of their Wealth that is  
 not eat up by the Prince, to enrich their Churches  
 and Convents, the people here are reduced  
 to a poverty, that cannot be easily beleaved by  
 one that sees the Wealth that is in their Churches,  
 and this is going on so constantly in Milan:  
 that it is scarce accountable from whence so vast  
 a treasure can be found; but Purgatory is a  
 fons not easily exhausted. The Wealth of  
 the Milanese consists chiefly in their Silks, and  
 that Trade falls so mightily by the vast Impor-  
 tations that the East India Companies bring in-  
 to Europe, that all Italy feels this very sensi-  
 bly, and languishes extreainly by the great fall  
 that is in the Silk-Trade: There is a great mag-  
 nificence in Milan; the Nobility affect to make  
 a noble appearance both in their Cloaths, their

*The palace  
 of Simonet  
 - la ndar  
 millan has  
 a vast Echo  
 m. mison.*

*> Nay! it  
 is to avoid  
 the heat  
 for they who  
 are rich  
 enough to  
 build pal-  
 laces may  
 soon buy  
 glass*

*True*



Coaches, and their Attendants; and the Women go abroad with more freedom here then in any Town of Italy. And thus I have told you all that hath hitherto occurred to me, that I thought worth your knowledge. I am

*Yours.*

*Postscript.*

In the account that I gave you of Geneva. I forgot to mention a very extraordinary person that is there Mistris Walkier; her Father is of Shaffhouse, she lost her sight when she was but a year old, by being too near a stove that was very hot: There rests in the upper part of her eye so much sight, that she distinguishes day from night; and when any person stands between her and the light she will distinguish by the head and its dress a man from a woman; but when she turns down her eyes she sees nothing: she hath a vast memory; besides the French that is her natural language, she speaks both High-Dutch, Italian and Latin: she hath all the Psalms by heart, in French, and many of them in Dutch and Italian: she understands the Old Philosophy well, and is now studying the New: she hath studied the body of Divinity well, and hath the Text of the Scriptures very ready: On all which matters I had long conversations with her; she not only sings well, but she plains rarely on the Organ; and I was told she played on the Violin, but her Violin was out of order. But that which is most of all, is, she writes legibly: in order to her learning to write, her Father who is a worthy man, and hath such tenderness for her, that he furnishes.

nisheth her with Masters of all sorts , ordered Letters to be carved in Wood , and she by feeling the Characters formed such an Idea of them, that she writes with a crayon so distinctly that her writing can be well read , of which I have several essays. I saw her write , she doth it more nimbly then can be imagined ; she hath a machine that holds the paper , and keeps her alwayes in line. But that which is above all the rest , she is a person of extraordinary devotion , great resignation to the Will of God , and a profound humility : The Preceptor that the Father kept in the house with her , hath likewise a wonderful faculty of acquiring Tongues. When he came first to Geneva (for he is of Zurich) he spoke not a word of French, and within thirteen months he Preacht in French correctly , and with a good accent : He also began to study Italian in the month of November , and before the end of the following February he preacht in Italian ; his accent was good , and his stile was florid , which was very extraordinary , for the Italian language is not spoken in Geneva , tho the race of the Italians do keep up still an Italian Church there.



# THE THIRD LETTER

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*Florence, the 5. of November.*

**I** have now another month over my head since I writ last to you, and so I know you expect an account of the most considerable things that have occurred to me since my last from Milan. Twenty miles from Milan we pass through Lodi a miserable Garrison, tho a Frontier Town; but indeed the Frontiers, both of the Spaniards and the Venetians, as well as those of the other Princes of Italy, shew that they are not very apprehensive of one another; and when one passes through those places, which are represented in History as places of great strength, capable of resisting a long Siege, he must acknowledge that the sight of them, brings the Idea that he had conceived of them, a great many degrees lower. For Lombardy, which was so long the seat of VVar, could not stand out against a good Army now for so many dayes, as it did then for years. The Garrison of Crema which is the first of the Venetian Territory, is no better then that of Lodi,

*Lodi.*

*Crema*

di, only the people in the Venetian Dominion live happier then under the Spaniard.

The Senate sends Podesta's much like the the Bailifs of the Switzers who order the Justice and the Civil Government of the Jurisdiction assigned them: There is also a Captain General who hath the Military Authority in his hands; and these two are checks upon one another, as the Bassa's and the Cadi's are among the Turks. But here in Crema the Town is so small that both these are in one person. We were there in the time of the Fair, Linnen Cloath and Cheese, which tho it goes by the name of Parmesan, is made chiefly in Lodi are the main ingredients of the Fair. The magnificence of the Podesta appeared very extraordinary, for he went through the Fair with a great Train of Coaches, all in his own Livery; and the two Coaches in which he and his Lady ride were both extraordinary rich: his was a huge Bed-coach, all the outside black Velvet, and a mighty rich Gold Fringe, lined with black Damask, flowered with Gold, From Crema it is thirty miles to *Brescia*, which is a great Town, and full of Trade and Wealth, here they make the best Barrils for Pistols and Muskets of all Italy: there are great iron works near it: but the War with the Turk had occasioned an order that none might be sold without a permission from Venice: They are building a Noble Dom at Brescia: I was shewed a Nunery there, which is now under a great disgrace, some years ago a new Bishop coming thither, began with the Visitation of

H iiii

that



that Nunnery: he discovered two Vaults, by one, men came ordinarily into it: and by another the Nuns that were big went and lay-in of Childbed: when he was examining the Nuns severely concerning those Vaults, some of them told him, that his own Priests did much worse: He shut up the Nunns, so that those who are professed live still there, but none come to take the Vail: and by this means the house will soon come to an end: The Cittadel lies over the Town on a Rock, and commands it absolutely. Both here and in Crema the Towns have begun a complement within these last ten or twelve years to their Podesta's, which is a matter of great Ornament to their Palaces, but will grow to a vast charge, for they erect statues to their Podesta's: and this being once begun, must be carried on: otherwise those to whom the like honour is not done will resent it as a high affront, and the revenges of the Noble Venetians, are dreadful things to their subjects. This name of Podesta is very ancient for in the Roman times, the chief Magistrates of the lesser Towns was called the Potestas, as appears by that of *funeral-Fidenarum Gabiorumve esse potestas*.

From Brescia the beauty of Lombardy is a little interrupted, for as all the way from Milan to Brescia is as one Garden, so here on the one side we come under the Mountains, and we pass by the Lake of Guarda, which is forty miles long, and where it is broadest, is twenty miles broad: The miles indeed, all Lombardy over, are extream short, for I walkt often

four

four or five miles in a walk, and I found a thousand paces made their common mile; but in Tuscany and the Kingdom of Naples, the mile is fifteen hundred paces. We pass through a great Heath for seven or eight miles on this side of Verona, which begins to be cultivated. Verona is a vast Town, and much of it well built; there are many rich Churches in it: but there is so little Trade stirring, and so little money going, that it is not easie here to change a Pistol, without taking their coin of base alloy, which doth not pass out of the Veronese: for this seems a strange maxim of the Venetians to suffer those small states, to retain still a coin peculiar to them, which is extream inconvenient for Commerce. The known Antiquity of Verona is the Amphitheater, one of the least of all that the Romans built, but the best preserved, for tho most of the great stones of the outside are pickt out: yet the great flopping Vault on which the rows of the seats are laid is entire the rows of the seats are also in tire, they are four forty rows, every row is a foot and half high, and as much in breadth, so that a man fits conveniently in them, under the feet of those of the higher row: and allowing every man a foot and a half, the whole Amphitheater can hold twenty three thousand persons. In the Vaults: under the rows of seats were the stalls of the Beasts that were presented to entertain the company: the thickness of the building, from the outward Wall to the lowest row of seats, is ninety foot: But this Noble remnant of Antiquity is so often and so copiously

Verona



copiously described, that I will say no more of it. The next thing of value is the famous *Museum Casceolarium*, now in the Hands of the Count Mascardo, where there is a whole apartment of Rooms all furnisht with antiquities and rarities: There are some old Inscriptions made by two Towns in Africk, to the honour of M. Crassus, There is a great collection of Medals and Medaillons, and of the Roman weights with their instruments for their Sacrifices, there are many curiosities of nature, and a great collection of Pictures, of which many are of Paulo Veronese's hand. There is a noble Garden in Verona that riseth up in Terrasses the whole heighth of a Hill, in which there are many ancient Inscriptions, which belongs to Count Giusto. As we go from Verona to Vincenza which is thirty miles, we return to the beauty of Lombardy, for there is all the way as it were a succession of Gardens, the ground is better cultivated here than I saw it in any other place of Italy: But the Wine is not good, for at the roots of all their Trees they plant a Vine which grows up winding about the Tree to which it joins; but the soil is too rich to produce a rich Wine, for that requires a dry ground: There is near the Lake of Guarda a very extraordinary Vine which they call *Vino Santo*, which drinks like the best sort of Canary, it is not made till Christmas, and from thence it carries the name of Holy Vine, and it is not to be drunk till Midsummer, for it is so long before it is quite wrought clear, but I have not marked

Vincenza

Vino Santo

marked down how long it may be kept; we had it there for a groat an English quart, I wondred that they did not trade with it. All the Cattel of Italy are gray or white, and all their Hogs are black, except in the Bolognese, and there they are red. I will not inquire into the reasons of these things: it is certain Hogs-Flesh in Italy is much better then it is in France and England, whether the truffs on which they feed much in VVinter, occasion this or not I know not, the husks of the pressed Grapes is also a mighty nourishment to them; but Cattel of that grayish colour are certainly weaker: The carriage of Italy is generally performed by them, and this is very hard work in Lombardy when it hath rained ever so little, for the ground being quite level, and there being no raised high-waies or cause-waies, the Carts go deep and are hardly drawn.

Vincenza hath still more of its ancient liberty reserved then any of these Towns; as Padua hath less, for it delivered it self to the Venetians, whereas the other disputed long with it, and brought it often very low: one sees the marks of liberty in Vincenza in the riches of their Palaces and Churches, of which many are newly built: they have a modern Theater made in imitation of the ancient Roman Theaters. Count Valarano's Gardens at the Port of Verona, is the finest thing of the Town, there is in it a very noble Alley of Oranges and Citrons, some as big as a Mans body, but those are covered all the Winter long, for in this appears the sensible difference of  
Lom:

*Truffles  
are in a  
boundance  
at Bourdeaux*

*Valmaria  
no his  
gardens*



Lombardy from those parts of Italy that lie to the South of the Apeniins; that here generally they keep their Oranges and Citrons in great boxes as we do in England, that so they may be lodged in VVinter, and defended from the beeses that blow sometimes so sharp from the Alps, that otherwise they would kill those delicate Plants: whereas in Tuscany they grow as other Trees in their Gardens, and in the Kingdom of Naples they grow wild without any care or cultivation. VVe were at

*The Marg.  
Is Capra  
has a fine  
house of  
Pleasure  
A mile off  
land from  
Vincenza.  
It is lately  
built  
Max. misson*

Vincenza upon a Holy-day, and there I saw a preparation for a Proceffion that was to be in the afternoon: I did not wonder at what a French Papist said to me, that he could hardly bear the Religion of Italy, the Idolatry in it was so gross. The statue of the Virgin was of Wood so finely painted that I thought the head was Wax, it was richly clad, and had a Crown on its Head, and was set full of Flowers: how they did when it was carried about I do not know; but in the morning all people run to it and said their prayers to it, and kissed the ground before it with all the appearances of devotion.

*Padua*

From Vincenza it is eighteen miles to Padua all like a Garden: here one sees the decays of a vast City, which was once one of the biggest of all Italy; the compass is the same that it was, but there is much uninhabited ground in it, and Houses there go almost for nothing, the Air is extream good, and there is so great a plenty of all things except money, that a little money goes a great way. The Univerfity here,

here, tho so much supported by the Venetians, that they pay fifty Professors, yet sinks extremely; there are no men of any great fame now in it; and the quarrels among the students have driven away most of the strangers that used to come and study here, for it is not safe to stir abroad here after Sun set: The number of the Palaces here is incredible, and tho the Nobility of Padua is almost quite ruined, yet the beauty of their ancient Palaces shews what they once were. The Venetians have been willing to let the ancient quarrels that were in all those conquered Cities continue still among them, for while one kills another, and the Children of the other take their revenges afterwards, both comes under the bando by this means, and the Confiscation goes to the Senate. At some times of grace when the Senate wants mony, and offers a pardon to all that will compound for it the numbers of the guilty persons are incredible. In Vincenza and the Country that belongs to it, I was assured by Monsieur Patin, that learned Antiquary, that hath been many years a Professor in Padua, that there were five and thirty thousand pardoned at the last grace; this I could hardly beleieve, but he bid me write it down upon his word. The Nobility of Padua and of the other Towns seem not to see what a profit their quarrels bring to the Venetians, and how they eat out their families: for one family in the same mans time, who was alive while I was there, was reduced from fourteen thousand Ducats revenue to less then three thousand, by its falling at several times under

*It was  
good y<sup>t</sup>  
this was  
no Confis-  
cation, but  
as it is in  
Bologna*



under the bando : But their jealousies and their revenges are pursued by them with so much vigor, that when these are in their way, all other things are forgot by them. There is here the remnant of the Amphitheater tho nothing but the outward Wall stands : There is here, as well as in Milan, an inward Town, called the City, and an outward, without that, called the Burgo; but tho there is a Ditch about the City, the great Ditch and Wall goeth about all and Padua is eight miles in compass; it lies almost round : The publick Hall is the Noblest of Italy : the Dome is an ancient and mean Building : but the Church of St. Anthony, especially the Holy Chappel in it where the Saint Lies, is one of the best pieces of modern Sculpture : for round the Chappel the chief Miracles in the legend of that Saint are represented in Mezzo rilievo, in a very surprizing manner : The devotion that is paid to this Saint, all Lombardy over, is a amazing: he is called by way of excellence *il Santo*, and the Beggars generally ask Alms for his sake: But among the little Vows that hang without the Holy Chappel, there is one that is the highest pitch of Blasphemy that can be imagined *Exaudit*, speaking of the Saint *quos non audit & ipse Deus*, he hears those whom God himself doth not hear. St. Justina is a Church so well ordred within, the Architecture is so beautiful, it is so well inlightned, and the Cupulo's are so advantageously placed that if the outside answered the inside, it would be one of the best Churches of Italy, but the Building is of Brick; and

St  
Anthony

and it hath no Frontispiece, there are many new Altars made as fine as they are Idolatrous, all full of Statues of Marble. This Abby hath a hundred thousand Ducats of Revenne, and so by its Wealth one may conclude that it belongs to the Benedictine Order. Cardinal Barberigo is Bishop here he seems to set St. Carlo before him as his pattern; he hath founded a Noble Seminary for the secular Priests; he lives in a constant discipline himself, and endeavors to reform his Clergy all he can; but he is now in ill terms with his Canons, who are all Noble Venetians, and so allow themselves great liberties, of which they will not be willingly abridged: he is charitable to a high degree, and is in all respects a very extraordinary man.

In the Venetian Territory their subjects live easie and happy, if they could be so wise as to give over their quarrels, but tho the taxes are not high, they oppress their Tenants so severely, that the Peasants live most miserably, yet on all hands round about them, the oppressions being more intollerable, they know not whither to go for ease, whereas on the contrary, the miseries under which their neighbors groan, chiefly those of the Ecclesiastical state, send in an increase of people among them, so that they are well stockt with people, but the Venetians are so jealous of their subjects understanding Militarie matters, which may dispose them to revolt, that they never make any Levies among them for their Wars, this jealousy is the true ground of that maxim, tho another is pretended that is more plausible, which is their care of their

*Cardinal  
Barberigo  
his Character*

*X  
v.p. 43*



their own people, whom they studie to preserve, and therefore they hire Strangers rather then expose their Subjects. It is certain a revolt here were no hard matter to effectuate, for the Garrisons and Fortifications are so slight, that those great Towns could easilie shake off their yoke, if it were not for the factions that still reign among them, by which one partie would chuse rather to expose the other to the rigor of the Inquisitors then concur with them in asserting their libertie, and the Inquisitors in such cases proceed so secretlie, and yet so effectuallie that none dares trust another with a secret of such consequence, and the oppressed Nobilitie of those States retain still so much of their old and unsubdued insolence, and treat such as are under them so cruellie, that the Venetians are as secure in those Conquests, as if they had many strong Cittadels and numerous Garrisons spread up and down among them. From Padua down to Venice, all along the River Brent, there are many Palaces of the Noble Venetians on both sides of the River, built with so great a varietie of Architecture, that there is not one of them like another, there is also the like diversitie in the laying out of their Gardens, and here they retire during the hot months, and some allow themselves all the excesses of dissolute libertie that can possiblie be imagined. From Lizza Fucina which is at the mouth of the Brent, we pass for five or six miles on the Lagunes or shallows to Venice, these shallows

sink

*The best  
are built  
by the  
most  
Palladio*

*Venice*

sink of late so much that the preserving  
 Venice still an Island, is like to become as  
 great a charge to the Venetians, as the  
 keeping out the sea is to the Dutch; for  
 they use all possible industry to cleanse the  
 Channels of their lagunes, and to keep them  
 full of water: and yet many think that the  
 water hath failed so much in this last age,  
 that if it continues to abate at the same rate,  
 within an age or two more Venice may become  
 apart of the Terra firma. It is certainly the  
 most surprizing sight in the whole World, to  
 see so vast a city, situated thus in the Sea;  
 and such a number of Islands so united to-  
 gether by Bridges brought to such a regular  
 figure, the Pilotty supplying the want of  
 earth to build on, and all so nobly built,  
 which is of all the things that one can see the  
 most amazing. And tho this Republick is much  
 sunk from what it was, both by the great  
 losses they have suffered in their VVars with  
 the Turks, and by the great decay of Trade,  
 yet there is an incredible VVealth, and a vast  
 plenty of all things in this place. I will not  
 offer to describe neither the Church nor the  
 Palace of S. Mark which are too well known  
 to need a long digression to be made for them  
 the painting of the VValls and the roofs of the  
 Halls, and publick Rooms in the Palace,  
 are of vast value: Here I saw that Story  
 of Pope Alexander the III. treading on the  
 neck of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa.  
 The nobleness of the staircases, the riches  
 of the Halls, and the beauty of the whole  
 I build



building, are much prejudiced by the beastliness of those that walk along, and that leave their marks behind them, as if this were rather a common house of Office, then so Noble a Palace: And the great Hall, where the whole body of the Nobility meet, in the Great Council, hath nothing but the roof and walls that answers to such an Assembly; for the seats are liker the benches of an Auditory of Schollers, than of so glorious a body. When the two sides of this Palace are built as the third, which is the most hid, it will be one of the gloriousst Palaces that the World can shew. The two sides that are most seen, the one facing the square of St. Mark, and the other the great Canale, are only of Brick, the third being all of Marble, but the War of Candy put a stop to the building. St. Mark's Church hath nothing to recommend it, but its great antiquity, and the vast riches of the building, it is dark and low, but the pavement is so rich a Mosaick, and the whole roof is also Mosaick, the outside, and inside are of such excellent Marble, the frontispiece is adorned with so many Pillars of Porphyry and Jasp, and above all with the four Horses of Corinthian Brass that Tiridates brought to Tiberius, which were carried afterwards to Constantinople, and were brought from thence to Venice, and in which the gilding is still very bright, that when all this is considered one doth not where see so much cost brought together. I did not see the Gospel of St. Mark,

Mark ; which is one of the valuablest things  
 of the Treasure ; but they do not now open  
 it to strangers, yet Doctor Grandi, a famous  
 Physitian there, told me that, by a particular  
 order, he was suffered to open it ; he told  
 me it was all writ in Capital Letters, but the  
 characters were so worn out, that tho he  
 could discern the ends of som Letters, he  
 could not see enough to help him to distin-  
 guish them or to know whether the M. S.  
 was in Greek or Latin. I will not say one  
 word of the Arsenal, for as I saw it in its  
 worst state, the War that is now on foot  
 having disfurnished a great deal of it, so it  
 hath been often described, and it is known  
 to be the Noblest Magazine, the best ordred,  
 and of the greatest variety that is in the whole  
 World : its true it is all that this State hath,  
 so that if the Magazines of other Princes,  
 which lie spread up and down in the different  
 places of their dominions were gathered to-  
 gether, they would make a much greater  
 shew. The Noblest Covent of Venice is  
 that of the Dominicans, called St. John,  
 and S. Paul, the Church, and Chappels are  
 vastly rich : there is one of St. Luke's Ma-  
 dona's here as they pretend ; the Dormitory  
 is very great ; the Room for the Library,  
 and every thing in it, except the Books, is  
 extream fine. But St. George, which is a  
 Convent of the Benedictines in an Isle intirely  
 possessed by them over against the St. Marks  
 square is much the richest : the Church is well  
 contrived and well adorned : and not only the

Max. Misson  
 says it is  
 in Greek

St. George



whole building is very magnificent, but which is more extraordinary at Venice they have a large Garden, and noble walks in it. The Redemptore, and the Salute are two Noble Churches that are the effects of Vows that the Senate made when they were afflicted with the Plague, the latter is much the finer, it is to the Virgin, and the other is only to our Saviour: so naturally doth the devotion of that Church carry it higher for the Mother than the Son: It is true the Salute is later than the other, so no wonder if the Architecture, and the riches exceed that which is more ancient. The School of Sant. Roch, and the Chappel, and Hall are full of great pieces of Tintorets: a Cena of Paulo Veronese in the Refectory of St. George, and the Picture of St. Peter the Martyr of Titians are the most celebrated pieces of Venice: Duke Pesaro's Tomb in the Frairy is the Noblest I ever saw. But if the riches of all the Covents, and the Parish Churches of Venice amased me, the fronts especially, many of which are of white Marble, beautified with several Statues: the meanness of the Library of St Mark did no less surprize me. There are in the Antichamber to it, Statues of vast value, and the whole roof of the Library is composed of several pieces of the greatest Masters put in several frames: but the Library hath nothing answerable to the riches of the case, for the Greek Manuscripts are all modern, I turned over a great many, and saw none above five hundred years old:

*n-6.*  
It is the  
marriage  
at Parma  
in Galea

I was indeed told that the last Library-keeper was accused for having conveyed away many of their Manuscripts ; and that four years ago being clapt in Prison for this by the Inquisitors , he, to prevent further severities, poisoned himself. I went to the Covent of the Servi , but I found Father Paul was not in such consideration there, as he is else where : I asked for his Tomb , but they made no account of him , and seemed not to know where it was ; it is true the person to whom I was recommended was not in Venice , so perhaps they refined too much in this matter : I had great discourse with some at Venice concerning the memorials out of which F. Paul drew his History , which are no doubt all preserved with great care in their Archives , and since the transactions of the Councel of Trent , as they are of great importance , so they are become now much controverted by the different relations that F. Paul, and Cardinal Pallavicini have given the World of that matter; the only way to put an end to all disputes in matter of fact, is to print the Originals themselves : A person of great credit at Venice promised to me to do his utmost, to get that proposition set on foot tho the great exactnes that the Government there hath alwaies affected as to the matter of their Archives , is held so sacred that this made him apprehend they would not give way to any such search. The affinity of the matter brings into my mind a long conversation that I had with a person of great eminence at Venice,



that as he was long at Constantinople, so was learned far beyond what is to be met with in Italy, he told me he was at Constantinople when the inquiry into the doctrine of the Greek Church was set on foot, occasioned by the famous dispute between Mr. Arnaud and Mr. Claude, he being a zealous Roman Catholick was dealt with to assist in that business; but being a Man of great honour and sincerity he excused himself, and said he could not meddle in it: He hath a very low and bad opinion of the Greeks, and he told me that none of their Priests were more inveterate enemies to the Church of Rome then those that were bred up at Rome; for they to free themselves of the prejudices that their Countrey-men are apt to conceive against them, because of their education among the Latines do affect to shew an opposition to the Latin Church beyond any other Greeks. He told me that he knew the ignorance and corruption of the Greeks was such, that as they did not know the doctrines of their own Church, so a very little money, or the hope of protection from any of the Ambassadors that come from the West, would prevail with them to sign any thing that could be desired of them: He added one thing, that tho he firmly believed Transubstantiation himself, he did not think they believed it; let them say what they pleased themselves, he took his measures of the doctrine of their Church, rather from what they did, then from what they said: For their rites not being changed now for a great many ages

were

were the true Indications of the doctrines received among them; whereas they were both ignorant of the tradition of their doctrine, and very apt to prevaricate when they saw advantages or protection set before them, therefore he concluded that since they did not adore the Sacrament after the consecration, that was an evident sign that they did not believe the corporal presence, and was of a force well able to balance all their subscriptions: He told me he was often scandalized to see them open the bag in which the Sacrament was preserved, and shew it with no sort of respect no more then when they shewed any Manuscript, and he looked on adoration as such a necessary consequent of Transubstantiation, that he could not imagine that the latter was received in a Church that did not practice the former. To this I will add what an eminent Catholick at Paris told me, he said the Originals of those attestations were in too exact and too correct a stile to have been formed in Greece, he assured me they were penned at Paris by one that was a Master of the purity of the Greek tongue. I do not name those persons because they are yet alive, and this might be a prejudice to them. One of the chief Ornaments of Venice was the famous young Woman that spake five Tongues well, of which the Latin and Greek were two; she passed Doctor of Physick at Padua according to the ordinary forms; but which was beyond all, she was a person of such extraordinary vertue and piety, that she is

The Lutherans observe a real presence (a cause of scandal) & yet they do not adore the Sacrament. So that this Gualterius conclusion seems not to be good.



spoken of as a Saint, she died some months before I came to Venice : she was of the noble Family of the Cornara's, tho not of the three chief branches, which are Saint Maurice, Saint Paul and Calle, who are descended from the three Brothers of the renowned Queen of Cyprus, but the distinction of her Familie was Piscopia. Her extraordinary merit made all people unwilling to remember the blemish of her descent of the one side, for tho the Cornara's reckon themselves a size of Nobility beyond all the other Families of Venice, yet her Father having entertained a Gondalier's Daughter so long that he had some Children by her, at last for their sakes married the Mother, and paid a considerable fine to save the forfeiture of Nobility, which his Children must have undergone, by reason of the meanness of the Mothers birth. The Cornara's carry it so high that many of the Daughters of that Family have made themselves Nuns, because they thought their own name was so Noble that they could not induce themselves to change it with any other, and when lately one of that Familie married the Heir of the Sagredo, which is also one of the antientest Families that was extream rich, and she had scarce any portion at all, for the Cornara's are now very low, some of their Friends came to wish them joy of so advantageous a match; but they very coldly rejected the complement, and bid the others go and wish the Sagredo joy, since they thought the advantage was wholly of their side.

There

There are of the truely ancient Noble Families of Venice four and twenty yet remaining, and even among these there are twelve that are thought superior to the rest in rank: since the first formation of their Senate they have created many Senators. In their Wars with Genua they conferred that honour on thirty Families: several of their Generals have had that honour given them as a reward of their service: They have also offered this honour to some Royal Families; for both the Families of Valois and Bourbon were Nobles of Venice, and Henry the III. when he came through Venice from Poland to take possession of the Crown of France, went and sate among them, and drew his ballot as a Noble Venetian: many Popes have procured this honour for their Nephews: Only the Barberines would have the Venetians offer it to them without their asking it, and the Venetians would not give it without the others asked it, and so it stuck at this. But during the War of Candy Cardinal Francis Barberin gave twelve thousand Crowns a year towards the War, and the temper found for making them Noble Venetians was, that the Queen Mother of France moved the Senate to grant it. In all the Creations of Senators before the last War of Candy, they were free; and the considerations were either great services, or the great dignity of those on whom they bestowed this Honour. Those new Families are divided into those that are called Ducal Families, and those that were called simply new Fa-



Families; the reason of the former designation is not rightly understood; but one that knew all that related to that constitution particularly well gave me a good account of it: That which naturally occurs as the reason of it, is, that all those Families that are called Ducal, have had the Dukedom in their house: But as all the old Families have had the same honour, though they carry not that Title, so some of the new Families have also had it, that yet are not called Ducal. Others say that those Families that have had branches, who have been made Dukes, without their being first Procurators of S. Mark, or that have been chosen to that honour, without their pretending to it, are called Ducal: But the true account of this is, that from the year 1450. to the year 1620. for a hundred and seventy years there was a combination made among those new Families to preserve the Dukedom still among them: For the old Families carrying it high, and excluding the new Families from the chief Honours, nineteen of the new Families entred into mutual engagements to exclude the ancient Nobility: It is true they made the Dukedome sometimes fall on some of the new Families that were not of this Association; but this was more indifferent to them, as long as the ancient Families were shut out, and that it appeared that they bore the chief sway in the Election. This Combination was a thing known to the very people, tho the Inquisitors did all they could to break it, and at least to hide it, so that I never

I never met with it in any of their Authors: But this failed in the year 1620. when Memmio was chosen Duke, who was descended of one of the ancient Nobility, which was so great a mortification to the case Ducale that one of them (Venniero) hanged himself, by the rage to which that disgrace drove him, yet his man came into the room in time before he was dead, and cut him down, and he lived long after that in a better mind. Since that time one of the Bembo's, two of the Cornaro's, and one of the Contrarini's, and the present Prince of the Justiniani, the first of that family that hath had that honour, have been Dukes, who are all of the ancient Families: So that this Faction is now so intirely buried, that it is not generally known, even in Venice itself, that it was ever amongst them: and thus time and other accidents bring about happy events, which no care nor industry could produce: For that which all the endeavors of the Inquisitors could not compass, was brought about of it self. It is true the Factions in Venice, tho violent enough in the persons of those who manage them, yet are not derived by them as an inheritance to their posterity, as it was among the Florentines; who tho they value themselves as a size of men much above the Venetians, whom they despise as a phlegmatick and dull race of people, yet shewed how little they understood with all their vivacity, to conduct their state, since by their domestick heats they lost their liberty, which the Venetians have had the wisdom still to preserve

X for Machiavells History of Florence: note the sovereignty in no Repub. in the world was ever hereditary to the Nobles But in Venice

The hereditary of the Sovereignty to the Nobles  
 Probody Elections & factions wch is story all over Republics  
 But why the Venetians are call'd more free, more than people  
 under an absolute monarch I know not, for their Government is the most absolute  
 any & absolute in Europe. p. 159.



serve. This Faction of the Case Ducale was perhaps willing to let the matter fall, for they lost more then they gat by it; for the ancient Families in revenge set themselves against them, and excluded them from all the other advantageous imployments of the State. For the others being only united in that simple point relating to the Dukedom, the ancient Families let them carry it, but in all other Competitions they set up alwaies such Competitors against the pretenders that were of the Ducal Families, that were much more esteemed then these were, so that they shut them out of all the best Offices of the Republick. Such a Faction as this was, if it had been still kept up, might in conclusion have proved fatal to their liberty. It is indeed a wonder to see, the dignity of the Duke so much courted, for he is only a prisoner of state tied up to such rules, so severely restrained and shut up as it were in an apartment of the Palace of St. Mark, that it is not strange to see some of the greatest Families, in particular the Cornara's, decline it. All the Family, if ever so numerons, must retire out of the Senate, when a Duke is chosen out of it, only one that is next to him of kin sits still, but without a Vote: And the only real Priviledge that the Duke hath, is that he can of himself, without communicating with the Savii, propose matters, either to the Council of ten, to the Senate, or to the great Council; whereas all other propositions must be first offered to the Savii, and examined by them, who have a sort of Tribu-

nitian

— rather  
fatal to their  
government

no Wonder

nician power to reject what they dislike, and  
 tho they cannot hinder the Duke to make a  
 proposition, yet they can mortifie him when  
 he hath made it: they can hinder it to be  
 voted, and after it is voted they can suspend  
 the execution of it till it is examined over  
 again: And a Duke that is of an active Spirit  
 must resolve to indure many of these afflictions,  
 and it is certain that the Savii do sometimes  
 affect to shew the greatness of their Auto-  
 rity, and exercise a sort of Tyranny in the  
 rejecting of propositions when they intend to  
 humble those that make them. Yet the  
 greatest part of the best Families court this  
 Honour of Dukedom extreamly; when Sagredo  
 was upon the point of being chosen Duke,  
 there was so violent an outcry against it over  
 all Venice, because of the disgrace, that they  
 thought would come on the Republick, ~~but~~ if  
 they had a Prince whose nose had miscarried  
 in some unfortunate disorders, the Sena-  
 te complied so farre with this aversion,  
 that the people testified, that tho the Inquisi-  
 tors took care to hang or drown many of  
 the chief of the mutineers, yet they let the  
 design for Sagredo fall: Upon which he was  
 so much disgusted that he retired to a house  
 he had in the Terra firma, and never appeared  
 more at Venice: During which time of his  
 retirement, he writ two Books, the one Me-  
 morie Ottomaniche which is Printed, and he is  
 accounted the best of all their modern Au-  
 thors: The other was Memoires of the  
 Government, and History of Venice, which  
 hath

Sagredo



hath never been Printed; and some say it is too sincere, and too particular, so that it is thought it will be reserved among their Archives. It hath been a sort of maxime now for some time not to chuse a married man to be Duke, for the Coronation of a Dutchess goes high, and hath cost above a hundred thousand Ducats. Some of the ancient Families have affected the Title of Prince, and have called their branches Princes of the Blood, and tho the Cornara's have done this more then any other, yet others upon the account of some Principalities, that their Ancestors had in the Islands of the Archipelago, have also affected those vain Titles: But the Inquirers have long ago obliged them, to lay aside all those high Titles, and such of them as boast too much of their blood, find the dislike which that brings on them very sensibly; for when soever they pretend to any great imployments, they find themselves alwaies excluded. When an Election of Ambassadors was proposed, or of any of the chief Offices, it was wont to be made in those terms, that the Councel must chuse one of its principal Members for such an imployment: But because this lookt like a term of distinction, among the Nobility, they changed it five and twenty years ago; and instead of Principal, they use now the term Honorable, which comprehends the whole body of their Nobility, without any distinction. It is at Venice in the Church, as well as in the State, that the Head of the Body hath a great Title; under

and particular honors done him; whereas in the meanwhile this is a meer Pageantry, and under these big words there is lodged only a light shadow of authority; for their Bishop has the glorious Title of Patriark, as well as the Duke is called their Prince, and his serenity, and hath his name stamp't upon their Coin, so the Patriark with all this high Title hath really no authority: For not only Saint Mark's Church is intirely exempted from his jurisdiction, and is immediatly subject to the Duke, but his authority is in all other things so subject to the Senate, and so regulated by them that he hath no more power then they are pleased to allow him: So that the Senate is as really the supream Governor over all persons, and in all causes as the Kings of England have pretended to be in their own dominions since the Reformation: But besides all this the Clergy of Venice have a very extraordinary sort of exemption, and are a sort of a body like a Presbytery independent of the Bishop: The Curats are chosen by the Inhabitants of every Parish, and this makes that no Noble Venetian is suffered to pretend to any Curacy, for they think it below that dignity to suffer one of their body to engage in a competition with one of a lower order, and to run the hazard of being rejected. I was told the manner of those elections was the most scandalous thing possible, for the several candidates appear on the day of election, and set out their own merits, and defame the other pretenders in the fowlest language, and in the most scurrilous manner  
 thing



imaginable ; the secrets of all their lives are  
 < publiſht in moſt reproachful terms , and no-  
 thing is ſo abjeſt and ridiculous that is not  
 put in practice on thoſe occaſions : There is a  
 ſort of an Aſſociation among the Curats for  
 judging of their common concerns , and ſome  
 X of the Laity of the ſeveral Pariſhes aſſiſt in  
 thoſe Courts , ſo that here is a real Preſbyte-  
 ry. The great libertinage that is ſo undecent-  
 ly practiſed by moſt ſorts of people at Venice ,  
 extends it ſelf to the Clergy to ſuch a degree ,  
 that tho ignorance and vice ſeem the only in-  
 delible characters that they carry generally over  
 all Italy , yet thoſe appear here in a much more  
 conſpicuous manner then elſewhere , and upon  
 theſe popular elections all comes out. The  
 Nuns of Venice have been under much ſcandal  
 for a great while , [there are ſome Monafteries  
 that are as famous for their ſtrictneſs and exact-  
 neſs to their rules , as others are for the liberties  
 they take ] chiefly thoſe of Saint Zachary and  
 S. Zachary Saint Laurence , where none but Noble Ve-  
 S. Laurence netians are admitted , and where it is not ſo  
 much as pretended that they have retired for  
 devotion ; but it is owned to be done meerly  
 < that they might not be too great a charge to  
 their Family : They are not vailed , their  
 neck and breaſt is bare , and they receive much  
 company : but that which I ſaw was in a pub-  
 lick Room , in which there were many grills  
 for ſeveral Parlors , ſo that the converſation is  
 very confuſed , for there being a different com-  
 pany at every grill , and the Italians ſpeaking  
 generally very loud , the noiſe of ſo many loud  
 tal-

talkers is very disagreeable. The Nuns talk much and very ungracefully, and allow themselves a liberty in rallying that other places could not bear. About four years ago the Patriark intended to bring in a reform into those Houses, but the Nuns of St. Laurence with whom he began, told him plainly they were Noble Venetians who had chosen that way of life as more convenient for them, but they would not subject themselves to his regulations, yet he came and would shut up their house, so they went to set fire to it; upon which the Senate interposed and ordered the Patriark to desist. There is no Christian State in the World, that hath expressed a jealousy of Churchmens getting into the publick Councils so much as the Venetians, for as a Noble Venetian that goes into Orders, loses thereby his right of going to vote in the great Council, so when any of them are promoted to be Cardinals, the whole kindred and family must during their lives withdraw from the great Council, and are also incapable of all imployments: And by a clause which they added when they received the Inquisition, which seemed of no great consequence, they have made it to become a Court absolutely subject to them; for it being provided that the Inquisitors should do nothing but in the presence of such as should be Deputed by the Senate to be the witnesses of their proceedings, those Deputies either will not come but  
K when



Whatever be the several persuasions of  
the Venetians in matters of Religion  
yet they are great Enemies to Innovation  
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when they think fit, or will not stay longer  
then they are pleased with their proceedings;  
so that either their absence or their with-  
drawing dissolves the Court: for a citation  
cannot be made, a witness cannot be examin-  
ed, nor the least point of form carried on  
if the Deputies of the Senate are not present:  
and thus it is, that tho there is a Court of In-  
quisition at Venice, yet there is scarce any  
person brought into trouble by it, and there  
are many of the Protestant Religion that live  
there without any trouble: and tho there is a  
Congregation of them there that hath their  
exercises of Religion very regularly, yet the  
Senate gives them no trouble. It is true the  
Hosty's not being carried about in Proceffion,  
but secretly by the Priest to the Sick, makes  
that this uneasie discrimination of Protestant  
and Papist doth not offer it self here as in other  
places, for the straitness of the streets, and  
the Channels through which one must go almost  
every foot, makes that this could not be done  
in Venice as it is elsewhere, and from Venice  
this rule is carried over their whole Territory  
tho the like reason doth not hold in the Terra  
Firma. The Venetians are generally igno-  
rant of the matters of Religion to a scandal, and  
they are as unconcerned in them, as they are  
strangers to them, so that all that vast pomp  
in their Ceremonies and wealth in their  
Churches is affected rather as a point of ma-  
gnificence, or a matter of emulation among  
families, then that superstition hath here such  
a power over the Spirits of the people as it

X  
like Cato, they have Two Religions, hath  
one public, another private —  
mons<sup>r</sup> de S. says that their secret Reli-  
gion is Socinianism or Deism: [not Athe-  
ism]

*also they are enemies to Churchmens  
medling w<sup>th</sup> the Civile gov<sup>t</sup>*

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hath elsewhere: for the Atheism that is received by many here is the dullest and coarsest thing that can be imagined. The young Nobility are so generally corrupted in their Morals, and so given up to a most supine ignorance of all sort of knowledge, that a man cannot easily imagine to what a height this is grown, and for Military Courage there is scarce so much as the ambition of being thought brave remaining among the greater part of them. It seemed to me a strange thing to see the Broglia so full of graceful young Senators and Nobles, when there was so glorious a War on foot with the Turks, but instead of being heated in point of honour to hazard their lives, they rather think it an extravagant piece of folly for them to go and hazard it when a little money can hire strangers that do it on such easie terms, and thus their Arms are in the hands of strangers, while they stay at home managing their intrigues in the Broglia, and dissolving their spirits among their Courtisans. And the reputation of their service is of late years so much sunk that it is very strange to see so many come to a service so decried, where there is so little care had of the Souldiers, and so little regard had to the Officers: the arrears are so slowly plaid; and the rewards are so scantily distributed, that if they do not change their maxims they may come to feel this very sensibly; for as their Subjects are not acquainted with Warlike matters, so their Nobility have no sort of ambition that way, and strangers are

X NB

} XX

true.

XX

K ij ex-

Mons<sup>r</sup> N. in his Hist. of Venice says that many of the Nobles are well learned in Mathematics: Geogr. Hist. policy: Law. But few great captains among them



extreamly disgusted. It is chiefly to the conjuncture of affaires that they owe their safety, for the feebleness of all their neighbours, the Turk, the Emperor, the King of Spain, the Pope, and the Duke of Mantua, preserves them from the apprehension of an Invasion, and the quarrels, and degeneracy of their Subjects, save them from the fears of a Revolt, but a formidable neighbour would put them hard to it. One great occasion of the degeneracy of the Italians, and in particular of the Venetian Nobility, is a maxim that hath been taken up for some considerable time, that for the preservation of their Families, it is fit that only one of a family should marry, to which I will not add that it is generally beleev'd that the Wife is in common to the whole family: By this means the younger brothers that have appointments for life, and that have no Families that come from them, are not stirred up by any ambition to signalize themselves or to make Families, and so they give way to all the laziness of luxury, and are quite enervated by it. VWhereas the best services done in other States flows from the necessities as well as the aspirings of younger brothers or their Families, whose blood qualifies them to pretend, as well as their pride and necessities push them on, to acquire first a reputation, and then a fortune: But all this is a mystery to the Venetians, who apprehend so much from the active Spirits of a necessitous Nobility, that to lay those to sleep, they encourage them in all those things that

X. la honte, la vanité, le desir de faire fortune, sont les véritables principes des actions le plus vertueuses  
 Mémoires de M. le Duc de la Rochefoucault

may blunt and depress their minds, and youth naturally hates Letters as much as it loves pleasure, when it is so far from being restrained, that it is rather pushed on to all the licentiousness of unlimited disorders.

Yet I must add one thing, that tho Venice, is the place in the whole World where pleasure is most studied, and where the youth have both the greatest VVealth, and the most leisure to pursue it: yet it is the place that I ever saw where true and innocent pleasure is the least understood, in which I will make a little digression that perhaps will not be unpleasant. As for the pleasures of friendship or marriage they are strangers to them, for the horrible distrust, in which they all live, of one another, makes that it is very rare to find a friend in Italy, but most of all in Venice: and tho we have been told of several stories of celebrated friendships there, yet these are now very rare. As for their VVives they are bred to so much ignorance, they converse so little, that they know nothing but the dull superstition on Holydaies in which they stay in the Churches as long as they can, and so prolong the little liberty they have of going abroad on those daies as children do their hours of play: They are not imploied in their domestick affairs, and generally they understand no sort of work, so that I was told that they were the insipidest creatures imaginable: they are perhaps as vicious in other places, but it is among them down-



right lewdness, for they are not drawn into it by the intranglements of amour that inveigle and lead many persons much farther then they imagined or intended at first, but in them the first step without any preamble or preparative, is downright beastliness. And an Italian that knew the World well said upon this matter a very lively thing to me, he said their jealousy made them restrain their daughters, and their VVives so much, that they could have none of those domestick entertainments of wit, conversation, and Friendship, that the French or English have at home: It is true those he said hazard a little the honour of their Families by that liberty, but the Italians by their excessive caution, made that they had none of the true delights of a married State; and notwithstanding all their uneasy jealousy, they were still in danger of a contraband Nobility, therefore he thought they would do much better to hazard a little, when it would produce a certain satisfaction, then to watch so anxiously, and thereby have an insipid companion instead of a lively Friend, tho she might perhaps have some ill moments. As for their houses they have nothing convenient at Venice, for the Architecture is almost all the same, one stair-case, a Hall that runs along the body of the house, and chambers on both hands, but there are no apartments, no Closets or Back-stairs; so that in houses that are of an excessive wealth, they have yet no sort of convenience; Their bedsteads are of iron, because of the vermin  
that

that their moisture produces, the bottoms are of boards, upon which they lay so many quilts that it is a huge step to get up to them, their great Chairs are all upright without a stop in the back, hard in the bottom, and the wood of the arms is not covered: they mix water with their wine in their Hogheads, so that for above half the year the wine is either dead or sour, they do not leaven their bread, so that it is extream heavy, and the Oven is too much heated, so that the crum is as dough, when the crust is as hard as a stone, in all Inns they boil meat first before it is roasted, and thus as indeed they make it tender, so it is quite tasteless, and insipid: And as for their land-carriage all Lombardy over it is extream inconvenient, for their Coaches are fastned to the perch, which makes them as uneasy as a Cart: It is true they begin to have at Rome, and Naples, Coaches that are fastned to a sort of double perch, that runs along the bottom of the Coach of both sides, which are so thin that they ply to the motion of the Coach, and are extream easie, but those are not known in Lombardy, and besides this their Caleshes are open, so that one is exposed to the Sun, and dust in Summer, and to the weather in Winter: But tho they are covered as ours are, on the other side of the Appenins, yet I saw none that were covered in Lombardy: and thus by an enumeration of many of the innocent pleasures, and conveniences of life, it appears that the Venetians pursue so violently forbidden pleasures, that they know not how to find



out that which is allowable. Their constant practises in the Broglia is their chief business, where those that are necessitous are pursuing for imployments of advantage, and those that are full of wealth take a sort of pleasure in crossing their pretensions, and in imbroiling matters. The walk in which the Nobility tread is left to them, for no others dare walk among them, and they change the side of the square of St. Mark as the Sun, and the weather direct them. Perhaps a derivation that Mr. Patin gave me of Broglia from the Greek *Periboláion*, a little corrupted is not forced, and since they make all their parties and manage all their intrigues in those Walks, I am apt to think that broils, brovillonse and imbroilments are all derived from the agitations that are managed in those walks.

As for the last created Nobility of Venice, I came to know some particulars that I have not yet seen in any books, which I suppose will not be unacceptable to you. It is certain that if the Venetians could have foreseen at the beginning of the War of Candy, the vast expence in which the length of it engaged them, they would have abandoned the Isle, rather than have wasted their Treasure, and debased their Nobility. This last was extream sensible to them; for as the dignity of the rank they hold is so much the more eminent as it is restrained to a small number, so all the best imployments and Honours of the State belonging to this body, the admitting such a number into it, as must rise out of seventy eight

eight Families, was in effect the sharing their inheritance among so many adopted brothers. This had been less infamous if they had communicated that Honour only to the ancient Citizens of Venice, or to the Nobility of those States that they have subdued in the Terra firma; for as there are many Citizens who are as ancient as the Nobility, only their Ancestors not hapning to be of that Council that assumed the Government about four hundred years ago, they have not been raised to that Honour, so there had been no infamy in creating some of them to be of the Nobility. It had been also brought under consultation long ago, upon the reduction of those States in the Terra firma, whether it was not advisable according to the maxims of the ancient Romans to communicate that dignity to some of their chief Families, as being the surest way to give some contentment to those States, it being also a real as well as a cheap security, when the chief Families in those Cities, were admitted to a share in all the Honours of the Republick. It is true some of the Nobility of those States thought they had Honour enough by their birth, and so Zambara of Brescia refused to accept an Honour from those that had robbed his Countrey of its liberty, yet his posterity are now of another mind, for they came and bought in this last sale of honour that which was freely offered to their Ancestor, and was rejected by him. VVhen the Senate found it self extreemly pressed for money during the  
war



war it was at first proposed that some families, to the number of five, might be enobled; they offering sixty thousand Ducats if they were Venetians, and seventy thousand if they were strangers: There was but one person that opposed this in the Senate so it being passed there, was presented to the great Council; and there it was like to have passed without any difficulty, but one person opposed it with so much vigor, that tho the Duke desired him to give over his opposition, since the necessities of the War required a great supply, yet he persisted still; and tho one of the Savii set forth with tears the extremities to which the State was reduced, he still insisted and fell upon one conceit that turned the whole Council, he said they were not sure if five persons could be found that would purchase that honour at such a rate, and then it would be a vast disgrace, to expose the offer of Nobility first to sale, and then to the affront of finding no buyers when it was offered to be sold, and by this means he put by the resolution for that time: But then another method was taken that was more honourable, and was of a more extended consequence.

< Labia was the first that presented a Petition to the great Council, setting forth his merits towards the Republick, and desiring that he might be thought worthy to offer a hundred thousand Ducats towards the service of the State: this was understood to be the asking to be made noble at that price. Delfino said he thought every man might be well judged

ged worthy to offer such an assistance to the Publick , and that such as brought that supply might expect a suitable acknowledgement from the Senate, who might afterwards of their own accord bestow that honour on those that expressed so much zeal for the Publick : and this would in some sort maintain that degree which would be too much debased if it were thus bought and sold: but it seems the purchasers had no mind to part with their money, and to leave the reward to the gratitude of the Council , so the Petition was granted in plain terms: and the Nobility so acquired was not only to descend to the Children of him that was enobled , but to his Brothers and the whole Family to such a degree. After Labia a great many more came with the like Petitions , and it was not unpleasant to see in what terms Merchants , that came to buy this Honour set forth their merits , which were that they had taken care to furnish the Republick with such things as were necessary for its preservation. There was a sort of a Triumvirat formed of a Jew , a Greek , and an Italian, who were the Brokers , and found out the Merchants: and at last brought down the price from a hundred thousand to sixty thousand Ducats , and no other qualifications were required if they had money enough: For when Corregge said to the Duke that he was afraid to ask that honour for want of merit , the Duke asked him if he had a hundred thousand Ducats, and when the other answered the sum was ready , the Duke told him that was a great merit. At last seventy eight purchased this honour to  
the



the great regret of Labia: who said that if he had imagined that so many would have followed him in that demand, he would have bid so high for it that it should have been out of their power to have done it. It is true many of the Purchasers were Ancient and Noble Families, but many others were not only Merchants, but were of the lowest sort of them: who as they had enriched themselves by Trade, did then impoverish themselves by the acquisition of an honour that as it obliged them to give over their Trade, and put them in a higher way of living, so it hath not brought them yet in any advantage to ballance that loss: for they are so much despised, that they are generally excluded when they compete with the ancient Nobility, tho this is done with that discretion, that the old Families do not declare alwaies against the new, for that would throw the new into a faction against them, which might be a great prejudice to them, for the new are much more numerons then the old. Another great prejudice that the Republick feels by this great promotion, is that the chief families of the Citizens of Venice, who had been long practised in the affairs of State, and out of whom the Envoyes, the Secretaries of State, and the Chancellour that is the head of the Citizens, as well as the Duke is the head of the Nobility, are to be chosen, having purchased the chief honor of the State there is not now a sufficient number of capable Citizens left for serving the State in those imploiments; but this defect will be redrest with the help of a little time.

But

But if this increase of the Nobility hath lessened the dignity of the ancient Families, there is a regulation made in this age that still preserves a considerable distinction of Authority in their hands. Crimes against the State, when committed by any of the Nobility, were alwaies judged by the Inquisitors, and the Council of ten, but all other crimes were judged by the Council of forty. But in the year 1624. one of the Nobles was accused of Peculat committed in one of their Governments, and the Avogadore in the pleading as he set forth his crime, called him a Rogue and a Robber: yet tho his crimes were manifest, there being but six and twenty Judges present twelve only condemned him, and fourteen acquitted him, this gave great offence, for tho he was acquitted by his Judges, his crimes were evident, so that his fame could not be restored: for the depositions of the witnesses, and the Avogadores (or the Attorney Generals) charge were heard by the people; so it was proposed to make a difference between the Nobility and the other subjects; and since all Trials before the forty were publick, and the Trials before the ten were in secret, it seemed fit to remit the Nobility to be tried by the ten: Some foresaw that this would tend to a Tyranny, and raise the dignity of the ancient Families, of whom the Council of ten is alwaies composed, too high: therefore they opposed it upon this ground, that since the Council of forty sent out many orders to the Governors, it would very much lessen their authority, if



if they were not to be the Judges of those who were obliged to receive their Orders: but to qualify this opposition, a Proviso was made that reserved to the Council of 40 a power to judge of the obedience that was given to their orders but all other accusations of the Nobility were remitted to the Council of ten: and the body of the Nobility were so pleased with this distinction that was put between them and the other Subjects, that they did not see that this did really inflave them so much the more, and brought them under more danger: since those who judge in secret have a freer scope to their passions, then those whose proceedings are publick, and so are in effect judged by the Publick, which is often a very effectual restraint upon the Judges themselves. But the Council of ten being generally in the hands of the great Families: whereas those of all sorts are of the Council of forty, which was the chief Judicatory of the State, and is much Ancienter then that of ten: it had been much more wisely done of them to have been still Judged by the forty: And if they had thought it for their honour, to have a difference made in the way of judging the Nobility, and the other subjects, it had been more for their security to have brought their Trials to this, that whereas the forty Judge all other offenders with open doors, the Nobility should be judged the doors being shut, which is a thing they very much desire now, but without any hope of ever obtaining it: For this power of Judging the Nobility is now considered

dered as the Right of the ten; and if any man would go about to change it, the Inquisitors would be perhaps very quick with him as a mover of Sedition, and be, in that case, both Judge, and Party; Yet the Inquisitors being apprehensive of the distast that this might breed in the body of the Nobility, have made a sort of regulation, tho' it doth not amount to much; which is that the Nobility shall be Judged before the Council of ten for atrocious cases, such as matters of State, the robbing the Publick, and other enormous Crimes; but that for all other matters they are to be Judged by the forty: yet the Council of ten draws all cases before them, and none dare dispute with them.

But this leads me to say a little to you of that part of this Constitution, which is so much censured by strangers: but is really both the greatest glory, and the chief security of this Republick, which is the unlimited power of the Inquisitors, that extends not only to the Chief of the Nobility, but to the Duke himself, who is so subject to them, that they may not only give him severe reprimends, but search his Papers, make his Process, and in conclusion put him to death without being bound to give an account of their proceedings, except to the Council of ten. This is the dread not only of all the Subjects, but of the whole Nobility, and of all that bear Office in the Republick, and makes the greatest among them tremble, and

*our author approves of an absolute  
unaccountable power in a Republick*



X  
 to obligeth them to an exact conduct. But  
 tho it is not to be denied that upon some oc-  
 casions they may have been a little too sud-  
den, particularly in the known story of Fos-  
 carini, yet such unjustifiable severities have  
 occurred so seldom, that as the wisdom of  
 this body in making, and preserving such an  
 institution, cannot be enough admired, so  
 the dextrous conduct of those who manage  
 this vast trust, so as not to force the body  
 to take it out of their hands, is likewise high-  
 ly to be wondered at. In short the insolence,  
 the factions, the revenges, the necessities and  
ambition that must needs possess a great ma-  
 ny members of so vast body as is the Nobility  
 of Venice, must have thrown them often in  
 to many fatal convulsions, if it were not for  
 the dread in which they all stand of this Court:  
 < which hath so many spies abroad, chiefly a-  
 mong the Gondaliers, who cannot fail to dis-  
 cover all the secret commerce of Venice: be-  
 < sides the secret advices that are thrown in at  
 so many of these Lions mouths that are in se-  
 veral places of St. Mark's Palace, within  
 which there are boxes that are under the keys  
 of the Inquisitors, so that it is scarce possible  
 for a man to be long in any design against the  
 state, and not to be discovered by them.  
 And when they find any in fault, they are so  
 < inexorable, and so quick as well as severe in  
 their Justice, that the very fear of this is so  
 effectual a restraint, that perhaps the long  
 preservation of Venice, and of its liberty,  
 is owing to this single peece of their consti-  
 tution

tution : and the Inquisitors are persons generally so distinguished for their merit who must be all of different Families ; and their Authority lasts so short a while that the advantages of this vast Authority that is lodged with them are constant and visible ; whereas the unhappy instances of their being imposed on , and carrying their suspicions too far , are so few , that when ever the Nobility grows weary of this yoke , and throws it off, one may reckon the Glory and Prosperity of Venice at an end. It was terribly attackt not long ago by Cornaro , when Jerom Cornaro was put to death for his correspondance with Spain ; he was not near a kin to the great Family of that name , yet the Family thought their Honour was so much toucht when one of its remotest branches was condemned of Treason , that they offered a hundred thousand Crowns to have saved him, and by consequence to have preserved the Family from that infamy ; but tho this was not accepted , for he suffered as he well deserved , yet it was so visible that none of the Family were concerned in his Crimes , that it did not at all turn to their prejudice. But upon the first occasion that offered it self after that , to quarrel with the proceedings of the Inquisitors , they laid hold on it , and aggravated the matter extreamly, and moved for the limiting of their Authority , but the Great Council was wiser then to touch so sacred a part of the Government, so they retain their power very intire , but they manage it with

L all



all possible caution; A Forreigner that hath been many years in their service told me that the Stories with which strangers were frighted at the Arbitrary power that was rested in those Inquisitors were slight things, in comparison of the advantages that they found from it: and after eleven years spent in their service, he said, he never was so much as once sent for to receive a reprimend from them. And if the Nobility, that have any Commerce with strangers, confess it sincerely to the Inquisitors, they are in no danger by it; but if they conceal it, or any main circumstances of it, their Process will be seen dispatched. These are the most remarkable things that I could pick up, during my stay at Venice. I have avoided to say any thing relating to their several Councils, Officers, and Judicatories, or to the other parts of their Government, which are to be found in all books; and the forms by which they give their votes by ballot are so well known, that it were an abusing of your time to inlarge my self concerning them; nor was I sufficiently informed concerning the particulars of the Sale of Nobility that is now on foot since this last War with the Turks, which hath made them willing to take up once again this easie way of raising of mony: Nor could I give credit to that of which a person of great eminence there assured me, that there was a poisoner general in Venice, that had a salary, and was imploied by the Inquisitors to dispatch those against whom a publick proceeding would make too great a noise; this I could not

not believe, tho my Author protested that the brother of one that was solicited to accept of the; imploiment discovered it to him. There is no place in the World where strangers live with more freedom, and I was amazed to see so little exactness among the searchers of the Custom-house: for though we had a Mullett-lead of Trunks, and Portmantles, yet none offered to ask us, either coming or going, what we were, or what we carried with us. But the best and Noblest entertainment that Venice afforded while I was there, was the company of Mr. dela Haye the French Ambassador, who as he hath spent his whole life in publick Embassies, so he hath acquired so great a knowledge of the World, with so true a Judgment, and so obliging a civility, that he may well pass for a pattern; and it is no wonder to see him still engaged in a constant succession of publick imploiments; and his Lady is so wonderfull a person, that I pay them both, but a very small part of what I owe them, in this acknowledgment, which I judge any self bound to make of their extraordinary civilities to me: and indeed without the advantage of such a rendezvous as I had there, a fortnights stay at Venice had been a very tedious matter: From Venice we went again to Padua; From thence to Rovigo, which is but a small Town, and so to the Po, which divides the Territory of the Republick, from the Ferrarese, which is now the Popes Country, and here one sees what a difference a good and a



bad Government makes in a Country ; for tho the soil , is the same on both sides of the River , and the Ferrarese was once on of the beautifullest spots of all Italy , as Ferrara was one of its best Towns , while they had Princes of their own who for a course of some Ages were Princes of such Eminent vertue , and of so Heroicall a Noblenes that they were really the Fathers of their Country , nothing can be imagined more changed than all this is now. The soil is abandoned , and uncultivated , nor were there hands enough so much as to mow their grasse , which we saw withering in their Meadows to our no small wonder. We were amazed to see so rich a soil thus forsaken of its Inhabitants , and much more when we passed through that vast Town , which by its extent shews what it was about an age ago , and is now so much deserted that there are whole sides of streets without Inhabitants , and the poverty of the place appears signally in the Churches , which are mean and poorly adorned , for the superstition of Italy is so ravenous , and makes such a progress in this Age , that one may justly take the measures of the Wealth of any place from the Churches. The superstition or Vanity of this Age is so much beyond that of the past tho the contrary to this is commonly believed that all the vast buildings of great Churches or rich Covents , and the surprizing wealth that appears in them on Festival daies are the donatives of the present Age ; so that it is a vulgar error that some have taken up , who fancy that superstition is at a stand , if not in a de-

Ferrara

So like  
is seen  
of W in  
the West of  
England.

decay, unless it be acknowledged that the craft of the Priests hath opened to them a new method to support their riches, when the old ones of Purgatory, and Indulgences were becom less effectual in an Age of more knowledge, and better inlightned, and that is to ingagemen to an emulation and a vanity in enriching their Churches, as much as other Italians have in the enriching their Palaces, so that as they have a pleasure as well as a vanity in seeing so much dead wealth in their houses, they have translated the same humour to their Churches: and the vanity of the present Age that beleeves little or nothing of those contrivances, of Purgatory, or the like, produceth the same if not greater effects in the building and enriching their Churches, and so carries it in expencc and prodigality from the superstition of the former Ages that beleevcd every thing. But to return to Ferrara. I could not but ask all I saw how it came that so rich a soil was so strangely abandoned, some said the Air was becom so unhealthy, that those who stay in it were very short-lived; but it is well known that four score years ago it was well peopled; and the ill Air is occasioned by the want of Inhabitants, for there not being people to drain the ground and to keep the Ditches clean, this makes that there is a great deal of water that lies on the ground and rots, which infects the Air in the same manner as is observed in that vast and rich but uninhabited Champaign of Rome, so that the ill Air is the effect rather than the cause of the dispeopling of the Popes Domi-

X

L iij nions,

*The Popes Civile government is truly  
said to be the hardest in Italie: this is  
incident to absolute & elective governments  
to take their turn of it.*



nions. The true cause is the severity of the  
 X Government, and the heavy Taxes, and fre-  
 quent Confiscations by which the Nephews of  
 several Popes, as they have devoured many  
 of the Families of Ferrara, so they have driven  
 away many more. And this appears more vi-  
 sibly by the different state as well as the Con-  
 stitution of Bologna, which is full of people  
 that abound in wealth, and as the soil is ex-  
 tremely rich, so it is cultivated with all due  
 care. For Bologna delivered it self to the  
 Popedom upon a capitulation, by which there  
 are many priviledges reserved to it: Crimes  
 there are only punished in the persons of those  
 who commit them, but there are no con-  
 fiscations of Estates; and tho the Authority,  
 in criminal matters, belongs to the Pope,  
 and is managed by a Legate and his Officers,  
 yet the Civil Government, the Magistracy,  
 and the power of Judicature in Civil matters,  
 is interely in the hands of the State: And  
 by this regulation it is that as the riches of  
 Bologna amazes a stranger, it neither being  
 on a Navigable River, by which it is not capable  
 of much Trade, nor being the center of a  
 Sovereignty where a Court is kept; so the  
 Taxes that the Popes fetch from thence are so  
 considerable, that he draws much more from  
 this place of liberty, then from those where  
 his Authority is unlimited and absolute,  
 X but that are by those means almost quite aban-  
 doned: for the greatness of a Prince or State  
 rising from the numbers of the Subjects, those  
 maxims that retain the Subjects, and that

*This Law of no Confiscations is a draw  
 great security of property & encourage-  
 ment to their industrie. Yet in Criminals  
 the Pope is absolute.*

*Bologna*

*This was  
 by Custom  
 & Law of  
 Scotland  
 till altered  
 by Mogarty  
 an. Chr.  
 148.  
 our. 23. K.*

draw strangers to come among them, are certainly the truest maxims for advancing the greatness of the Master. And I could not but with much scorn observe the folly of some Frenchmen, who made use of this argument to shew the greatness of their Nation, that one found many Frenchmen in all places to which one could come, whereas there were no English nor Dutch, no Switzers, and very few Germans: but this is just contrary to the right consequence that ought to be drawn from this observation. It is certain that few leave their Country, and go to settle elsewhere, if they are not pressed with so much uneasiness at home that they cannot well live among their friends and kindred, so that a mild Government drives out no swarms: whereas it is the sure mark of a severe Government that weakens itself, when many of the Subjects find it so hard to subsist at home, that they are forced to seek that abroad, which they would much rather do in their own Country, if impositions, and other severities did not force them to change their habitations.

But to return to the wealth of Bologna, it appears in every corner of the Town, and all round it: tho its situation is not very favourable, for it lies at the foot of the Apennins on the North side, and is extream cold in Winter. The houses are built as at Padua and Bern, so that one walks all the Town over covered under Piazza's; but the walks here are both higher and larger then any where

True  
 Note The author of Le Non-Beaux Joliffe de L'incest. Says that Taxes  
 in France are not greater than in the Neighbouring Countries  
 Germany Holland Italy Spain &c. — England only excepted



else: there are many Noble Palaces all over  
 the Town, and the Churches, and Convents  
 are incredibly rich: within the Town the  
 richest are the Dominicans, which is the  
 chief house of the Order, where their Foun-  
 ders body is laid in one of the best Chappels  
 of Italy: and next to them are the Fran-  
 ciscans, the Servites, the Jesuites, and  
 the Canons Regular of St. Salvator. In this  
 last there is a scrowl of the Hebrew Bible,  
 which tho it is not the tenth part of the Bible,  
 they fancy to be the whole Bible: and they  
 were made beleieve by some Jew, that hath  
 no doubt sold it at a high rate, that it was  
 written by Ezrah's own hand, and this hath  
 past long for current: but the Manuscript  
 is only a fine Copy like those that the Jews use in  
 their Synagogues, that may be perhaps three  
 or four hundred years old: that part of it on  
 which I cast my eye was the book of Esther,  
 so by the bulk of the scrowl, I judged it to  
 be the collection of those small books of the  
 Old Testament that the Jews set after the  
 Law; but those of the house fancy they have  
 a great treasure in it, and perhaps such Jews as  
 have seen it are willing to laugh at their igno-  
 rance, and so suffer them to go on in their er-  
 ror. The chief Church in the Town is St.  
 Petrone's, and there one sees the curious and  
 exact Meridional-line, which that rare Astro-  
 nomer Cassini laid along a great part of the pa-  
 vement in a brass Circle: it marks the true  
 point of midday from June to January, and is  
 one of the best performances that perhaps the  
 World

World ever saw. In the great square before the Church, on the one side of which is the Legates Palace, among other Statues one surprized me much, it was Pope Joans, which is so named by the people of the Town, it is true the learned men say it is the Statue of Pope Nicolas the IV. who had indeed a youthly and womanish face. But as I looked at this Statue very attentively, through a little prospect that I carried with me, it appeared plainly to have the face of a young Woman, and was very unlike that of Pope Nicolas the IV. which is in St. Maria Maggiore at Rome: For the Statue of that Pope, tho it hath no beard, yet hath an age in it that is very much different from the Statue at Bologna. I do not build any thing on this Statue, for I do not beleieve that Story at all, and I my self saw in England a Manuscript of Martinus Polonus, who is one of the ancient Authors of this matter, which did not seem to be written long after the Authors time, in it this Story is not in the Text, but is added on the margin by another hand. On the Hill above Bologna stands the Monastery of St. Michael in Bosco, which hath a most charming situation, and prospect, and is one of the best Monasteries in Italy; it hath many Courts, and one that is Cloistered, and is Octangular: which is so nobly painted in Fresco, that it is great pity to see such work exposed to the Air: All was retouched by the famous Guido Reni, yet it is now again much

Guido Reni

The fa  
ble of  
Pope  
Joan.

Nota  
vid. also  
R. Lafol  
his repu  
tation of  
this fa  
ble

S. M. in  
Bosco.



much decayed : The Dormitory is very Magnificent : the Chappel is little but very fine, and the Stalls are richly carved. On the other side of Bologna, in the Bottom, the Carthusians have also a very rich Monastery :

noſtre  
dame  
de ſt  
Luc.  
& the  
Portico

Four miles from Bologna there is a Madona of St. Lukes, and because many go thither in great devotion, there is a portico a building, which is already carried on almost half way : it is walled towards the North, but stands on Pillars to the South, and is about twelve foot broad, and fifteen foot high, which is carried on very vigorously, for in eight or ten years the half is built, so that in a little time, the whole will be very probably finished, and this may prove the beginning of many such like Portico's in Italy, for things of this kind want only a beginning, and when they are once set on foot they do quickly spread themselves in a Country that is so intirely subdued by superstition and the artifices of their Priests. In Bologna they reckon there are seventy thousand persons. I saw not one of the chief glories of this place for the famous Malapighi was out of Town while I was there. I saw a Play there, but the Poësie was so bad, the Farces so rude, and all was so ill acted, that I was not a little amazed to see the Company expreſs ſo great a ſatisfaction in that which would have been hiſs'd off the ſtage either in England or France. From Bologna we go eight miles in a Plain, and then we ingage into that range of Hills that carry the name of Apenins, tho that is ſtrictly given only to

to one that is the highest: All the way to Florence this track of Hills continues, tho there are several bottoms, and some considerable little Towns in them, but all is up-hill and down-hill, and Florence it self is just at the bottom of the last Hill. The high-ways all along these Hills are kept in so very good case that in few of the best inhabited Countries doth one find the high-waies so well maintained as in those forsaken Mountains: but this is so great a passage that all that are concerned in it find their account in the expence they lay out upon it. On the last of these Hills, tho in a little bottom, ~~in the midst of a Hill~~, stands Pratolino, one of the great Dukes Palaces, where the retreat in summer must be very agreeable, for the Air of those Mountains is extream thin and pure. The Gardens in Italy are made at a great cost, the Statues and Fountains are very rich and noble, the Grounds are well laid out, and the Walks are long and even: But as they have no Gravel to give them those firm and beautiful walks that we have in England, so the constant greenesse of the Box doth so much please them, that they preferring the sight to the smell, have their Gardens so high fenced by plots made with them, that there is no pleasure to walk in them; they also lay their walks so between hedges, that one is much confined in them. I saw first in a Garden at Vincenza, that which I found afterwards in many Gardens in Italy, which was extream convenient, there went a course of Water round about



about the Walks, about a foot from the ground in a channel of stone that went along the side of the Wall; and in this there were holes so made, that a pipe of white Iron or wood put to them, conveyed the Water to such plants, as in dry season, needed watering; and a cock, set the Water a running in this course, so that without the trouble of carrying Water, one person could easily manage the watering of a great Garden. Florence is a beautifull and noble Town, full of great Palaces, rich Churches, and stately Convents. The streets are paved in imitation of the old Roman high-ways, with great Stone bigger then our common pavement Stone, but much thicker, which are so hollowed in their joinings to one another, that horses find fastning enough to their feet: There are many Statues and Fountains in the streets, so that in every corner one meets with many agreeable objects. I will not entertain you with a description of the great Dukes Palace and Gardens, or of the old Palace and the Gallery that joins to it, and of the vast Collection of Pictures, Statues, Cabinets, and other curiosities that must needs amaze every one that sees them: the Plate, and in particular the Gold Plate, and the great Coach, are all such extraordinary things that they would require a very copious description; if that had not been done so often, that it were to very little purpose to Copy what others have said: and these things are so exactly seen by every traveller, that I can say nothing that is more particular, of these

*Florence*

*W13*

*The picture of popo Leo X. by Raphael sub-  
 The statue of Venus, by a greek  
 The great Diamond, gold plate, coach  
 are rarities in the palace*

subjects then you will find in the common Itineraries of all Travellers. The great Dome is a magnificent building, but the Frontispiece to the great Gate is not yet made. The Cupulo, is after S. Peters, the greatest and highest that I saw in Italy: it is three hundred foot high, and of a vast compass, and the whole Architecture of this Fabrick is very singular as well as regular. Only that which was intended to add to its beauty, lessned it very much in my thoughts: for the VValls that are all of Marble being of white and black Marble laid in different figures and orders, looked too like a livery, and had not that air of nobleness which in my opinion becoms so glorious a Fabrick. The Baptistery that stands before it was a Noble Heathen Temple: its Gates of brals are the best of that sort that are in the VVorld: There are so many Histories so well represented in bas reliefs in them, with so much exactness, the work is so natural and yet so fine, that a curious man could find entertainment for many daies, if he would examine the three Gates of this Temple, with a critical exactness. The Annunciata, S. Marks, S. Croce, and S. Maria Novella, are Churches of great beauty and vast riches: but the Church & Chappel of S. Laurence exceeds them all as much in the riches within, as it is inferior to them in the outside which is quite flea'd, If I may so speak, but on designe to give it a rich out side of Marble. In a Chappel within this Church, the Bodies of the great Dukes lie deposited,

Do not will  
black & white  
mixed  
agreed except they be mixed with  
other colours.

> m. Angelo  
said they  
deserve to  
be the  
gates of  
heaven  
m. misson

S. Laure.  
Chappel

till

{ St Laurence Chappell is finer than  
that of St. Xavier at Palermo  
or of St. Annunciat'n at Naples  
or of St. Turin joining to the Cathedral.



till the famous Chappel is finished. But I was much scandalized to see Statues with nudities here, which I do not remember to have seen any where else in Churches. I will not offer at a description of the Glorious Chappel, which as it is without doubt the richest peece of building that perhaps the VWorld ever saw, so it goes on so slowly, that tho there are alwayes many at work, yet it doth not seem to advance proportionably to the number of the hands that are imploied in it. Among the Statues that are to be in it there is one of the Virgins made by Michael Angelo, which represents her grief at the Passion of her Blessed Son, that hath the most life in it, of all the Statues I ever saw. But the famous Library that belongs to this Convent took up more of my time then all the other curiosities of Florence; for here is a collection of many Manuscripts, most of them are Greek, that were gathered together by Pope Clement the VII. and given to his Country: there are very few Printed Books mixed with them; and those Books that are there, are so rare, that they are almost as curious as Manuscripts. I saw some of Virgils Poems in old Capitals. There is a Manuscript in which some parts both of Tacitus and Apuleius are written, and in one place, one in a different hand hath writ that he had compared those Manuscripts: and he adds a date to this in Olibrius's time, which is about twelve hundred years ago. I found some dipthongs in it cast into one Letter, which surprized me, for I thought that

way

NB.

The Lib.  
rary.M. Spon  
says it is  
as old as  
the Reign  
of Theodor.

way of writing them had not been so ancient: but that which pleased me most was that the Library-keeper assured me that one had lately found the famous Epistle of St. Chrilostomes to Celarius in Greek, in the end of a Volume full of other things, and not among the Manuscripts of that Fathers Books of which they have a great many. He thought he remembred well the place where the Book stood; so we turned over all the Books that stood near it, but I found it not: he promised to look it out forme if I came back that way. But I changing my design, and going back another way, could not see the bottom of this. It is true the famous Magliabecchi who is the Great Dukes Library-keeper, and is a person of most wonderful civility and full of candor as well as he is learned beyond imagination assured me that this could be no other then a mistake of the Library keepers; he said such a discovery could not have been made without making so much noise that he must have heard of it. He added there was not one man in Florence that either understood Greek, or that examined Manuscripts, so that he assured me I could not build on what an ignorant Library-keeper had told me: So I set down this matter as I found it without building much on it. Florence is much sunk from what it was, for they do not reckon that there are above fifty thousand souls in it: and the other States that were once great Republicks, such as Siena and Pisa, while they retained their liberty, are now thrunk almost

into

J. Chr.  
Ep. to  
Celarius

+ In may 1688. Magliabecchi assured m. mison  
y<sup>e</sup> this Letter was found b<sup>y</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Duke's  
order not to show it: adding y<sup>e</sup> it did contain words  
by word y<sup>e</sup> passages cited by Martin



into nothing : It is certain that all three together are now not so numerous , as any one of them was two hundred years ago. Legorn is full of people : and all round Florence there are a great many Villages ; but as one goes over Tuscany it appears so dispeopled , that one cannot wonder to find a Country that hath been a Scene of so much action and, so many VVars now so forsaken and so poor , and that in many places the Soil is quite neglected for want of hands to cultivate it : and in other places where there are more people, they look so poor, and their houses are such miserable ruines , that it is scarce accountable how there should be so much poverty in so rich a Country , which is all over full of Beggars : and here the stile of begging was a little altered from what I found it in Lombardy ; for whereas there they begged for the sake of S. Anthony , here all begged for the souls that were in Purgatory , and this was the stile in all the other parts of Italy through which I passed. In short the dispeopling of Tuscany, and most of the Principalities of Italy , but chiefly of the Popes Dominions , which are more abandoned then any other part of Italy, seemed to flow from nothing but the severity of the Government and the great decay of Trade : for the greatest Trade of Italy being in silk, the vast importation of Silks that the East-India Companies bring into Europe , hath quite ruined all those that deal in this manufacture : Yet this is not the chief cause of the dispeopling of those rich Countries ,

true

see p. 42. 43. to 45 same purpose. the  
Indeed the Great Dukos Taxes are  
high yet not so severe as in Venice or  
Holland. see Davenant on Trade.  
Trade flourishes at Legorn

the severity of the Taxes is the true reason : notwithstanding all that decay of Trade, the Taxes are still kept up. Beside this, the vast Wealth of the Convents, where the only people of Italy are to be found, that live not only at their ease, but in great plenty and luxury, makes many forsake all sort of industry; and seek for a retreat to one of those seats of pleasure; so that the people do not increase fast enough to make a new race to come instead of those whom a hard Government drives away. It must needs surprize an unattentive Traveller to see not only the Venetian Territory; which is indeed a rich Country, but the Baniages of the Switzers, and the Coast of Genoa so full of people, when Tuscany, the Patrimony, and the Kingdom of Naples have so few Inhabitants. In the Coast of Genua, there is for many miles as it were a constant tract of Towns and Villages, and all those are well peopled, tho they have scarce any soil at all, lying under the Mountains that are very barren, and that expose them to a most uneasy Sun; and that they lie upon aboistrous Sea that is almost alwaies in a storm, and that affords very few fish: and yet the gentleness of the Government draws such multitudes thither, and those are so full of wealth, that many goes at two per cent. Bur on the other hand to ballance this a little, so strange and wild a thing is the nature of man, at least of

M Ita-

Compare the present Riches & peace of Tuscany with its miserable state when a Republique. See Marshall's History of Florence.

true

the City -  
bury of  
so many  
superstition  
gy houses  
increased  
of people



Italians , that I was told that the worst  
 people of all Italy are the Genoeses , and  
 the most generally corrupted in their Mo-  
 rals , as to all sorts of Vice , so that tho  
 a severe Government , and Slavery are con-  
 trary to the nature of man , and to human  
 Society , to Justice and Equity ; and to  
 that essential equality that nature hath made  
 among men : yet on the other hand all men  
 cannot bear that ease and liberty that becom  
 the human nature. The superstition of Ita-  
 ly , and the great wast of wealth that one  
 sees in their Churches , particularly those  
 prodigious masses of Plate with which their  
 Altars are covered on holidais , doth also  
 sink their Trade extreamly ; for silver ,  
 being in Commerce , what blood is in the  
 body , when so much of that is dead and cir-  
 culates no more ; it is no wonder if such  
 an extravasation (if I may use so long and  
 so hard a word) of silver , occasions a great  
 deadness in Trade. I had almost forgot one  
 remark that I made in the last Hill of the  
 Appenins , just above Florence , that I  
 never saw such tall and big Cypresses any  
 where as grew over all that Hill , which  
 seemed a little strange , that tree being apt  
 to be starved by a cold Winter amongus  
 and there the Winters are severe. All the  
 way in Tuscany is very rugged , except on  
 the sides of the Arne. But the uneasiness  
 of the Road is much qualified by the great  
 care that is had of the highways , which  
 are

are all in very good case : the Inns are wretched and ill furnished both for Lodging and Diet. This is the plague of all Italy when once one hath passed the Appennis : for , except in the great Towns , one really suffers so much that way , that the pleasure of Travelling is much abated by the inconveniences that one meets in every stage through which he passes. I am

S I R

*Yours,*

M ij THE



# THE FOURTH LETTER.

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*From Rome, the 8 of December 1685.*

I Am now in the last stage of my voyage over Italy ; for since my last from Florence I have not only got hither , but have been in Naples ; and have now satisfied my curiosity so fully , that I intend to leave this place within a day or two , and go to Civitavecchia ; and from thence by Sea to Marseilles , and so avoid an unpleasant Winters jour'ney over the Alps. It is true I lose the sight of Turin, Genoa, and som other Courts : but tho I am told these deserve well the pains of the journey ; yet when one rises from a great meal, no delicacies , how much soever they might tempt him at another time can provoke his appetite : So I confess freely that the sight of Naples and Rome have so set my stomach that way, that the curiosity of seeing new places is now very low with me , and indeed these that I have of late seen are such , that places which at another timer would please me much , would now make but a slight and cold Impression.

All

All the way from Florence, through the Great Dukes Country looked so sad, that I concluded it must be the most dispeopled of all Italy: but indeed I changed my note when I came into the Popes Territories at Pont Centino, where there was a rich bottom all uncultivated, and not so much as flocked with Cattle: But as I passed from M. Fiascone to Viterbo, this appeared yet more amazing: for a vast Champian Country lay almost quite deserted. And that wide Town which is of so great a compass, hath yet so few Inhabitants, and those look so poor and miserable, that the people in the ordinary Towns in Scotland, and in its worst places make a better appearance. When I was within a daies journey of Rome, I fancied that the neighborhood of so great a City must mend the matter: but I was much disappointed, for a soil that was so rich, and lay so sweetly that it far exceeded any thing I ever saw out of Italy, had neither Inhabitants in it, nor Cattell upon it, to the tenth part of what it could bear: The surprize that this gave me increased upon me as I went out of Rome on its other side, chiefly all the way to Naples, and on the way to Civitavecchia, for that vast and rich Champian Country that runs all along to Terracina, which from Civitavecchia is above a hundred miles long, and is in many places twelve or twenty miles broad, is abandoned to such a degree, that as farre as ones ey can carry one, there as often not so much as a house to be seen; but on the Hills that are on the North-side of this Valley and by this



dispeopling of the Country, the Air is now become so unwholesome, that it is not safe to be a night in it all the Summer long; for the Water that lies upon many places not being drained, it rots: and in the Summer this produces so many noisom steams, that it is felt even in Rome it self; and if it were not for the beeses that come from the Mountains, the Air would be intollerable: VVhen one sees all this large but wast Country from the Hill of Marino twelve miles beyond Rome, he cannot wonder enough at it. In a word it is the rigor of the Government that hath driven away the Inhabitants, and their being driven away, hath now reduced it to such a pass, that it is hardly possible to repeople it: for such as would come to drain and cultivate it, must run a great hazard, and few can resolve on that, when they can hope for no other reward of their Industry, but an uneasy Government. It is the greatest solicium in Government for the Prince to be Elective, and yet Absolute, for an Hereditary Prince is induced to consider his posterity, and to maintain his people, so that those that come after him may still support the rank which they hold in the VVorld: But an Elective Prince hath nothing of that in his ey unless he hath a pitch of generosity which is not ordinary among men, and least of all among Italians who have a passion for their Families, which is not known in other places: and thus a Pope who comes in late to this dignity, which by consequence he cannot hope to hold long, doth very naturally turn  
to

True

to those Councils, by which his Family may make all the hay they can during this Sunshine: And tho anciently the Cardinals were a check upon the Pope, and a sort of a Council without whom he could do nothing even in Temporals; yet now they have quite lost that; and they have no other share in affairs then that to which the Pope thinks fit to admit them, so that he is the most absolute Prince in Europe. It is true as to Spirituals they retain still a large share, so that in censures and definitions the Pope can do nothing regularly, without their concurrence; tho it is certain that they have not so good a Title to pretend to that as to a share in the Temporal Principality. For if the Pope derives any thing from St. Peter, all that, is singly in himself, and it is free to him to proceed by what method he thinks best; since the Infallibility, according to their pretensions, rests singly in him: Yet because there was not so much to be got by acting Arbitrary in those matters, and a Summary way of exercising this Authority, might have tempted the World to have enquired too much into the grounds on which it is built; Therefore the Popes have let the Cardinals retain still a share in this Supremacy over the Church, tho they have no claim to it, neither by any Divine nor Ecclesiastical warrants: But as for the endowments of the See of Rome, to which they may justly lay claim, as being in a manner the Chapter of that See; there is so much to be got by this, that the Popes have



ingrossed it wholly to themselves: and thus  
 it is that the Government of this Principa-  
 lity is very unsteady. Sometimes the Popes Fa-  
 mily are extreamly glorious, and magnifi-  
 cat, at other times, they think of nothing but  
 of establishing their house: Sometimes the  
 Pope is a man of sense himself; Sometimes he  
 is quite sunk, and as the last Pope was, he  
 becomes a Child again through old age;  
 Somtimes he hath a particular stiffness of tem-  
 per, with a great slowness of understand-  
 ing, and an insatiable desire of heaping up  
 wealth, which is the character of him that  
 now reigns. By this diversity which appears  
 eminently in every new Pontificate that com-  
 monly avoids those excesses that made the  
 former reign odious, the Councils of the  
 Popedom are weak and disjointed. But if this  
 is sensible to all Europe, with relation to the  
 general concerns of that Body, it is much mo-  
 re visible in the Principality it self, that is  
 subject to so variable a head. There hath been  
 in this Age a succession of four ravenous reigns,  
 and tho there was a short interruption in the  
 reign of the Rospigliosi, that coming after the  
 Barberins, the Pamphili, and the Ghigi's, did  
 not enrich it self: and yet it disordered the  
 Revenue by the vast magnificence in which he  
 reigned, more in twenty nine mouths time,  
 then any other had done in so many years.  
 The Altieri did, in a most scandalous manner  
 raise themselves in a very short and despised  
 Reign, and built one of the Noblest Palaces  
 in Rome. He that reigns now doth not  
 in-

Innocent  
 the XI.

indeed raise his Family avowedly, but he doth not ease the people of their Taxes: and as there is no magnificence in his Court, nor any publick buildings now carrying on at Rome, so the many vacant Caps, occasion many empty Palaces: and by this means there is so little expence now made at Rome, that it is not possible for the people to live and pay the Taxes, which hath driven as is beleev'd almost a fourth part of the Inhabitants out of Rome, during this Pontificate. And as the preemption of the corn makes that there is no profit made by the owners, out of the cultivation of the Soil, all that going wholly to the Pope, so there are no waies left here of imploying ones money to any considerable advantage: For the publick Banks, which are all in the Popes hand, do not pay in effect three per cent tho they pretend to give four per cent of interest: The settlement is indeed four per cent, and this was thought so great an advantage, that actions on the Popes Bank were bought at a hundred and Sixteen the hundred. But this Pope broke through all this, and declared he would give all men their money again, unless they would pay him thirty per cent for the continuing of this interest; and thus for a hundred Crowns Principal, one not only paid at first one hundred sixteen: but afterwards thirty: in all one hundred six and forty for the hundred which is almost the half lost: For whensoever the Pope will pay them back their money all the rest is lost: And while



I am here there is a report that the Pope is treating ~~with~~ with the Genoefes for mony at two percent, and if he gets it on thofe terms, then he will pay his debts: and the fubjects that have put in mony in this bank, will, by this means, lofe fix and forty percent, which is almoft the half of their ftock. A man of quality at Rome, and an eminent Churchman, (who took me likewise for one of their Clergy, becaufe I wore the habit of a Churchman,) faid that it was a horrible fcandal to the whole Chriftian World, and made one doubt of the truth of the Chriftian Religion, to fee more oppreffion and cruelty in their Territo- ry, then was to be found even in Turkey: tho it being in the hands of Chrift's Vicar, one fhould expect to find there the pattern of a mild and gentle Government: and how faid he can a man expect to find his Religion here, where the common maxims of Juftice and Mercy were not fo much as known: And I can never forget the lively reflection that a Roman Prince made to me upon the folly of all thofe fevere Oppreffions, which as they drive away the Inhabitants, fo they reduce thofe that are left to fuch a degenerary of Spirit by their neceffities, that the Spaniards, whole Dominions look fo big in the Map, are now brought fo low: and if they had kept ftill the poffeffion they once had of the United Netherlands, they would fignifie no more towards their prefervation, then their other Provinces did: which, by their unskillful conduct they have both difpeopled and ex-  
haufte

True

Prob.

*The situation safe from war, plenty of wine  
Liberty of conscience, small taxes, and  
sumptuary laws & fisheries manufactories  
make Holland Rich - but now taxes are  
haunted: Whereas by their losing those lev-  
en Provinces, those States have fallen upon*

*such wise Nations of Government, and have  
drawn so much Wealth, and such numbers  
of people together, that Spain it self was now  
preserved by them, and was saved in this Age  
by the losse it made of those Provinces in the  
last: and those States that if they had re-  
mained subject to Spain, would have signified  
little to its support, did that now much more  
considerably by being Allies, then they could  
have done if they had not shaken off their yoke.*

v. pag  
298.

Indeed if Spain had been so happy as to  
have such Viceroys and Governors, as it  
has now in Naples, their affairs could not  
have declined so fast as they have done. The  
Marquis of Carpi, in his youth intended to  
have taken so severe a revenge of an inju-  
ry that he thought the late King of Spain  
did him in an amour, that he designed the  
blowing him up by Gun-powder, when he  
was in the Councel Chamber: but that crime  
was discovered in time: and was not only  
forgiven him in consideration of the greatness  
of his Family, he being the son of Don Le-  
wis de Haro: but after that he was made for  
several years Ambassador in Rome: He is  
now Viceroy of Naples, and is the only Go-  
vernor of all the places through which I pas-  
sed, that is, without exception beloved  
& esteemed by all sorts of people: for dur-  
ing the few years of his Ministry, he hath  
redressed such abuses that seemed past cure,  
and that required an Age to correct them:

Marq.  
Carpi.

X

*The Marquis de Carpi his Excellent  
Character [He is son to Don Louis de Haro  
the great minister of Spain at the Pyre-  
nean treaty, a. 1659.]*



1. < He hath repressed the insolence of the Spaniards so much at Naples, that the Natives have no occasion to complain of the haughtiness of their Masters: for he proceeds against the Spaniards with no less severity, when they give cause for it, then against the Neapolitans: He hath taken the pay of the soldiers
2. < so immediately into his own care, that they, who before his coming, were half naked, and robbed such as passed on the streets of Naples in day light, are now exactly paid, well disciplined, and so decently cloathed, that it is a pleasure to see them: >
- < He examines their Musters also so exactly, that he is sure not to be cheated by false lists:
3. < He hath brought the Markets and Weights of Naples to a true exactness: and whereas the Bread was generally too light, he has sent for Loaves out of the several places of the Markets and weighed them himself: and by >
- < some severe punishments on those that sold the bread too light, he hath brought this matter to a just regulation: He hath also
4. < brought the Courts of Judicature, that were thought generally very corrupt, to reputation again, and it is believed he hath spies to >
- < watch in case the trade of bribes is found to be still going on: He hath fortified the Palace
5. < which was before his time, so much exposed, that it would have been no hard thing to have made a descent upon it: But the two things that raise his reputation most, are his
- { extirpating of the Banditi, and the regula- >
- { tion of the Coin, which he hath taken in >  
hand.

hand. It is well enough known what a plague the Banditi have been to the Kingdom, for they going in Troops, not only robbed the Country, but were able to resist an ordinary body of souldiers if they had set on them: These travelled about seeking for spail all the summer long, but in Winter they were harboured by some of the Neapolitan Barrons, who gave them Quarters: and thereby did not only portect their own Lands, but had them as so many Instruments ready to execute their revenges on their Enemies. This was well known at ~~X~~Naples and there was a Councel that had the care of the reducing the Banditi committed to them, who as they catched some few, and hanged them, so they fined such Barrons as gave them harbour, and it was beleevd that those Fines amounted to near a hundred and fifty thousand Crowns a year: And thus the disease went on; only now and then there was a little blood let, which never went to the bottom of the distemper. But when the present Viceroy entred upon the Government he resolved to extirpate all the Banditi, and he first let all the Barons understand that if they harboured them any more, a little Fine would not save them: but that he would proceed against them with the utmost severity, and by this means the Banditi could find no Winter Quarters: So they betook themselves to some fastnesses among the Hills, and resolved to make good the Passes, and to accommodate themselves the best they could amidst



amidst the Mountains. The Viceroy sent a great body against them, but they defended themselves for some time vigorously, and in one sally they killed five hundred men: but at last seeing that they were like to be hard prest; and that the Viceroy intended to come against them in Person, they accepted of the terms that he offered them, which was a pardon for what was past both as to life and Gallies, and six pence a day for their entertainment in Prison during life, or the Viceroy's pleasure; and so they rendred themselves. They are kept in a large Prison, and now and then as he sees cause for it he sends some few of them up and down to serve in Garrisons. And thus, beyond all mens expectation, he finished this matter in a very few months; and the Kingdom of Naples that hath been so long a scene of Pillage and Robbery, is now so much changed. that in no place of Europe do the subjects enjoy a more entire security. As for the Coin, it as all the other Spanish money, is so subject to clipping that the whole money of Naples is now light and far below the true value, so the Viceroy hath resolved to redress this: he considers that the crying down of money, that passeth upon the publick credit, is a robbing of those in whose hands the money happens to be when such Proclamations are put out, and therefore he takes a method that is more general, in which every one will bear his share, so that none will be crushed by it. He hath laid som Taxes on the whole Kingdom, and hath

Coin

hath got a great many to bring in some Plate to be coined: and when he hath thus prepared such a quantity, as may serve for the circulation that is necessary, he intends to call in all the old mony, and to give out new mony for it. Thus doth this Viceroy set such a pattern to the other Ministers of the Crown of Spain, that if many would follow it, the State of their affairs would be soon altered.

The Kingdom of Naples is the richest part of all Italy, for the very Mountains that are near the half of the Soil, are fruitful, and produce either Wine or Oil, in great abundance. Apulia is a great Corn Country, but it is excessive hot, and in some years all is burnt up. The Jesuites are the Proprietors of near the half of Apulia, and they treat their Tenants with the same rigour that the Barons of this Kingdom do generally use towards their Farmers: for the Commons here are so miserably oppressed, that in many places they dy of hunger even amidst the great plenty of their best years, for the Corn is exported to Spain: but neither the Spaniards nor the Neopolitans understand Trade so well as to be their own Marchants or Carriers, so that the English do generally carry away the profit of this Trade. The Oil of this Kingdom is still a vast Trade, and the Manufacture of the Wool and Soap of England, consumes yearly some thousands of Tuns. The silk Trade is so low that it only serves themselves, but the exportation is inconsiderable: the sloth and laziness of this people renders them incapable of making those advantages of

Wine  
Oyl  
Corn

vide p. 43.



of so rich a soil, that a more industrious sort  
 of people would find out; For it amazes a  
 stranger to see in their little Towns, the whole  
 men of the town walking in the Market places  
 in their torn Cloaks, and doing nothing; and  
 tho in some big towns, such as Capua, there  
 is but one Inn, yet even that is so misera-  
 ble, that the best Room and bed in it, is so  
 so bad, that our Footmen in England would  
 make a grievous outcry if they were no better  
 lodged: not is there any thing to be had in  
 them: the Wine is intollerable, the Bread  
 ill baked; no Victuals, except Pigeons; and  
 the Oil is rotten. In short except one carries  
 his whole provision from Rome or Naples, he  
 must resolve to indure a good deal of misery in  
 the four days journey that is between those two  
 places. And this is what a Traveller, that  
 sees the riches of the soil, cannot compre-  
 hend: but as they have not hands enough  
 for their soil, so those they have are generally  
 so little imploied, that it is no wonder to see  
 their soil produce so little, that in the midst  
 of all that abundance that Nature hath set be-  
 fore them, they are one of the poorest Na-  
 tions of Europe. But beside this which I have  
 named, the vast and dead wealth that is in  
 the hands of the Churchmen, is another evi-  
 dent cause of their misery. One that knew  
 the State of this Kingdom well, assured me that  
 if it were divided into five parts, upon a strict  
 survey it would be found that the Church  
 men had four parts of the five: which he made  
 out thus, they have in soil above the halfe of  
 the

the whole , which is two and a half : and in  
Tithes and Gifts and Legacies they have one  
 and a half more : for no man dieth without  
 leaving a considerable Legacy to some Church  
 or some Convent. The wealth that one sees in  
 the City of Naples alone , passeth imagina-  
 tion ; there are four and twenty houses of  
 the Order of the Dominicans , of both Sexes,  
 and two and twenty of the Franciscans , seven  
 of the Jesuites ; besides the Convents , of  
 the Olivitanes , the Theatines , the Carme-  
 lites , the Benedictines : and above all , for  
 scituation and riches the Carthusians on the top  
 of the Hill that lieth over the Town. The  
 riches of the Annunciata are prodigious : It is  
 the greatest Hospitall in the World , the Re-  
 venue is said to be four hundred thousand  
 Crowns a year : the number of the Sick is not  
 so great as at Milan : Yet one convenience X  
 for their sick I observed in their Galleries ,  
 which was considerable , that every Bed stood  
 as in an Alcove , and had a Wall on both sides  
 separating it from the Beds on both hands , and  
 as much void space of both sides of the Bed ,  
 that the Bed it self took up but half the Room.  
 The young Children that they maintain are so  
 many , that one can hardly beleve the numbers  
 that they boast of : for they talk of many thou-  
 sands that are not seen , but are at Nurse : a  
 great part of the wealth of this house goeth to  
 the enriching their Church , which will be all  
 over within crusted with inlayings of lovely  
 Marble , in a great variety and beauty of co-  
 lours : The Plate that is in the Treasure here  
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and in the Dome, (which is but a mean building, because it is ancient, but hath a Noble Chappel, and a vast Treasure) and in a great many other Churches are so prodigious, that upon the modest est estimate, the Plate of the Churches of Naples amounts to eight millions of Crowns. The new Church of the Jesuites, that of S. John the Apostle, and that of S. Paul are surprizingly rich; the gilding and painting that is on the roofs of those Churches have cost millions: And as there are about a hundred Convents in Naples, so every one of these, if it were in another place, would be thought well worth seeing, tho the riches of the greater Convents here, make many of them to be less visited. Every year there is a new Governour of the Annunciata, who perhaps puts in his own Pocket twenty thousand Crowns; and to make some compensation when he goeth out of Office, he giveth a vast peece of Plate to the House, a Statue for a Saint in Silver, or some Coloss of a Candlestick; for severall of those pieces, of plate are said to be worth ten thousand Crowns; and thus all the Silver of Naples becoms dead and useless: The Jesuites are great Merchants here; their Wine Cellar is a vast Vault, and holds above a thousand Hogs heads, and the best Wine of Naples is sold by them, yet they do not retail it out so scandalously as the Minims do, who live on the great square before the Viceroy's Palace, and sell out their Wine by retail: they pay no duty, and have extraordinary good Wine, and are in the best Place of the Town for this

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v. p. 43. X

retail. It is true the Neapolitans are no great  
 drinkers, so the profits of this Tavern are not so  
 great as they would be in colder Countries :  
 for here men go only in for a draught in the  
 mornings, or when they are a thirst. Yet the  
 House groweth extream rich, and hath one  
 of the finest Chappels that is in all Naples; but  
 the Trade seems very unbecoming men of  
 that Profession, and of so strict an Order.  
 The Convents have a very particular priviledge  
 in this Town; for they may buy all the houses  
 that ly on either side, till the first street  
 that discontinueth the Houses; and there  
 being scarce a street in Naples in which there is  
 not a Convent, by this means, they may  
 come to buy in the whole Town: And the  
 progress that the wealth of the Clergy makes  
 in this Kingdom is so visible, that if there  
 is not some stop put to it, within an Age  
 they will make themselves Masters of the  
 whole Kingdom: It is an amazing thing to see  
 so profound an ignorance as reigns among the  
 Clergy prevail so effectually, for tho all the  
 Secular persons here speak of them with all pos-  
 sible scorn, yet they are the Masters of  
 the Spirits of the people. The VWomen are  
 infinitely superstitious, and give their husbands  
 no rest. but as they draw from them great  
 presents to the Church. It is true there are  
 Societies of men at Naples of freer thoughts  
 then can be found in any other place of Italy :  
 The Greek learning begins to flourish there,  
 and the new Philosophy is much stndied; and  
 there is an Assembly that is held in D. Joseph



Valleta's Library ( where there is a vast collection of well chosen Books ) composed of men that have a right taste of true learning and good sense : they are ill looked on by the < Clergy , and represented as a set of Atheists, and as the spawn of Pomponatius's School : But I found no such thing among them , for I had the Honour to meet twice or thrice with a considerable number of them , during the short stay that I made among them : There is a learned Lawyer Francisco Andria that is considered as one of the most inquisitive men of the Assembly : There is also a Grandchild of the Great Alciat who is very curious as well as learned. Few Churchmen come in to this attempt for the reviving of Learning among them : On the contrary , it is plain that they dread it above all things. Only one Eminent Preacher Rinaldi that is Archideacon of Capua associates himself with them : he was once of the Jesuite Order but left it ; and as that alone served to give a good character of him to me, so upon a long conversation with him, I found a great many other things that possessed me with a high value for him. Some Physicians in Naples are brought under the scandal of Atheism , and it is certain that in Italy men of searching understandings, who have no other Idea of the Christian Religion, but that which they see received among them, are very naturally tempted to disbelieve it quite ; for they believing it all alike in gross without distinction ; and finding such notorious cheats as appear in many parts of their Religion , are  
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upon that induced to disbelieve the whole. The Preachings of the Monks in Naples are terrible things. I saw a Jesuit go in a sort of a Procession, with a great company about him, and calling upon all that he saw, to follow him to a place where a Mountebank was selling his Medicins, near whom he took his Room, and entertained the people with a sort of a Farce, till the Mountebank got him to give over; fearing least his action should grow tedious, and disperse the company that was brought together. There are no famous Preachers, nor men of any reputation for learning among the Jesuites: I was told they had not men capable to teach their Schools, and that they were forced to hire strangers: The Order of the Oratory hath not that reputation in Italy, that it hath gained in France, and the little Learning that is among the Clergy in Naples, is among some few Secular Priests.

The new method of Molinos doth so much prevail in Naples, that it is believed he hath above twenty thousand followers in this City: And since this hath made some noise in the World, and yet is generally but little understood, I will give you some account of him: He is a Spanish Priest that seems to be but an ordinary Divine, and is certainly a very ill reasoner when he undertakes to prove his opinions: He hath writ a Book, which is intituled *il Guida Spirituale*, which is a short abstract of the Mystical Divinity; the substance of the whole, is reduced to this, that in our prayers and other devotions, the best

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*An Account of Molino his Quietism*



methods are to retire the mind from all gross Images, and so to form an act of Faith, and thereby to present our selves before God: and then to sink into a silence and cessation of new acts, and to let God act upon us, and so to follow his conduct: This way he prefers to the multiplication of many new acts, and different forms of devotion; and he makes small account of corporal austerities, and reduces all the exercizes of Religion to this simplicity of mind: He thinks this is not only to be proposed to such as live in Religious Houses, but even to Secular persons, and by this he hath proposed a great reformation of mens minds and manners: He hath many Priests in Italy, but chiefly in Naples, that dispose those who confess themselves to them, to follow his methods: The Jesuits have set themselves much against this conduct, as foreseeing that it may much weaken the Empire that Superstition hath over the minds of people, that it may make Religion become a more plain and simple thing, and may also open a door to Enthusiasms: they also pretend that his conduct is factious and seditious, that this may breed a Schism in the Church. And because he saith, in some places of his Book, that the mind may rise up to such a simplicity in its acts; that it may rise in some of its devotions to God immediately, without contemplating the Humanity of Christ, they have accused him, as intending to lay aside the Doctrine of Christ's Humanity, tho it is plain that he speaks only of the purity of some single acts:

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Upon all those heads they have set themselves much against Molinos; and they have also pretended that some of his Disciples, have infused it into their Penitents, that they may go and communicate as they find themselves disposed without going first to Confession, which they thought weakned much the yoke, by which the Priests subdue the Consciences of the people to their Conduct: Yet he was much supported both in the Kingdom of Naples and in Sicily; he had also many friends and followers at Rome. So the Jesuites, as a Provinciall of the order assured me finding they could not ruine him by their own force, got a great King that is now extreamly in the Interests of their Order to interpose, and to represent to the Pope the danger of such innovations. It is certain the Pope understands the matter very little, and that he is possessed with a great opinion of Molino's sanctity, yet upon the complaints of some Cardinals, that seconded the zeal of that King, he and some of his followers were clapt in the Inquisition, where they have been now for some months, but they are still well used, which is beleev'd to flow from the good opinion that the Pope hath of him, who saith still, that tho he may erred, yet he is certainly a good man: Upon this imprisonment Pasquin said a pleasant thing, in one week, one man had been condemned to the Gallies for some what he had said, another had been hanged for some what he had writ, and Molinos was clapt in Prison, whose Doctrine consisted chiefly in this, that



men ought to being their minds to a State of inward quietness, from which the name of Quietists was given to all his followers: The Pasquinade upon all this, was *si parliamo, in Galere, si scrivemmo Impiccati, sistiamo in quiete all' Sant' Officio, e che bisogna fore?* If we speak we are sent to the Gallies, if we write we are hanged: if we stand quiet we are clapt up in the Inquisition: what must we do then? Yet his Followers at Naples are not daunted, but they beleeve he will come out of this trial victorious.

The City of Naples as it is the best scituated, and in the best climate, so it is one of the Noblest Cities of Europe, and if it is not above halfe as big as Paris or London, yet it hath much more beauty then either of them: the streets are large and broad, the pavement is great and Noble, the Stones being generally above a foot square: and it is full of Palaces and great Buildings: The Town is well supplied by daily Markets, so that provisions are ever fresh and in great plenty, the Wine is the best of Europe, and both the Fish and Flesh is extream good: it is scarce ever cold in Winter, and there is a fresh Air comes both from the Sea and the Mountains in Summer. The Viceroy's Palace is no extraordinary Building, only the Stair-case is great: But it is now very richly furnished within, in Pictures and Statues: there are in it some Statues of the Egyptian Deities of Touchstone, that are of great value: There are no great Antiquities here, only there is

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ancient Roman Portico that is very Noble ; before St Pauls Church : But without the City near the Church and Hospital of St. Gennaro , that is without the Gates , are the Noble Catacombs : which because they were beyond any thing I saw in Italy , and to which the Catacombs of Rome are not to be compared , and since I do not find any account of them , in all the Books that I have yet seen concerning Naples , I shall describe them more particularly.

They are vast and long Galleries cut out of the Rock : there are three Stories of them one above another. I was in two of them , but the Rock is fallen in the lowest , so that one cannot go in to it , but I saw the passage to it : These Galleries are generally about twenty foot broad , and about fifteen foot high : so that they are Noble and spacious places !, and not little and narrow as the Catacombs at Rome , which are only three or four foot broad , and five or six foot high. I was made believe that these Catacombs of Naples , went in to the Rock nine mile long ; but for that I have it only by report : yet if that be true , they may perhaps run towards Puzzolo , and so they may have been the burial places of the Towns on that Bay ; but of this I have no certainty. I walked indeed a great way , and found Galleries going off in all hands without end , and whereas in the Roman Catacombs there are not above three or four rows of niches  
that



that are cut out in the Rock one over another, into which the dead bodies were laid; Here there are generally six or seven rows of those niches and they are both larger and higher; some niches are for Childrens bodies, and in many places there are in the Floors, as it were great Chests hewn out of the Rock, to lay the bones of the dead as they dried, in them; but I could see no marks either of a cover for these holes that looked like the bellies of Chests, or of a facing to shut up the niches when a dead body was laid in them; so that it seems they were monstrous unwholesome and stinking places, where some thousands of bodies lay rotting, without any thing to shut in so loathsome a sight, and so odious a smell: For the Niches shew plainly that the Bodies were laid in them only wrapt in the dead cloaths, they being too low for Coffins. In some places of the Rock there is as it were a little Chappel hewn out in the Rock, that goes off from the common Gallery, and there are niches all round about; but I saw no marks of any Wall that shut in such places, tho I am apt to think these might be burying places appropriated to particular families. There is in some places on the Walls and Arch, Old Mosaick work, and some Painting, the Colours are fresh, and the manner and characters are Gothick, X which made me conclude that this might have been done by the Normans about six hundred years ago, after they drive out the Saracens: In some places there are Palmtrees painted, and

and Vines in other places. The freshness of the Colours shews these could not have been done while this place was imploied for burying, for the steams and rottenness of the air, occasioned by so much corruption, must have dissolved both Plaister and Colours. In one place there is a man painted with a little beard, and *Pantus* is written by his head: there is another reaching him a Garland, and by his head *Laud* is written, and this is repeated in another place right over against it. In another place I found a cross painted, and about the upper part of it these Letters J. C. X. O. and in the lower part N J K A. are painted: A learned Antiquary that went with me, agreed with me that the manner of the Painting and Characters did not seem to be above six hundred years old: but neither of us knew what to make of these Letters: The lower seemed to relate to the last word of the Vision, which it is said that Constantine saw with the cross that appeared to him: But tho the first two Letters might be for Jesus it being ordinary in old coins and Inscriptions to put a C. for an S. and X. stands for Christ, yet we knew not what to make of the O, unless it were for the Greek *Theta*, and that the little line in the bosom of the Theta was worn out, and then it stands for *Theos*; and thus the whols Inscription is, Jesus Christ God overcometh. Another Picture in the Wall had written over it S. *Johannes*, which was a clear sign of a barbarous Age: In another place there is a Picture high in the Wall, and  
three



three Pictures under it, that at top had no Inscription; those below it had these Inscriptions S. Katharina, S. Agape, and S. Margarita, these Letters are clearly modern, besides that Margaret and Katherine are modern names: and the addition of *ta* a little above the S. were manifest evidences that the highest Antiquity that can be ascribed to this Painting is six hundred years. I saw no more Painting, and I began to grow weary of the darkness, and the thick Air of the place, so I staid not above an hour in the Catacombs. This made me reflect more particularly on the Catacombs of Rome then I had done, I could imagine no reason why so little mention is made of those of Naples, when there is so much said concerning those of Rome; and could give my self no other account of the matter, but that it being a maxim to keep up the reputation of the Roman Catacombs, as the Repositories of the Reliques of the primitive Christians, it would have much lessened their credit, if it had been thought that there were Catacombs far beyond them in all respects, that yet cannot be supposed to have been the work of the primitive Christians, and indeed nothing seems more evident then that these were the common burying places of the ancient Heathens. One enters into them without the Walls of the Towns, according to the Laws of the twelve Tables, and such are the Catacombs of Rome that I saw, which were those of S. Agnes and S. Sebastian, the entry into them being without the Town; this answers the Law, tho in effect they run under it, for

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for in those daies when they had not the use of the needle , they could not know which way they carried on those works when they were once so far ingaged under ground as to lose themselves. It is a vain imagination to think that the Christians , in the primitive times, were able to carry on such a work ; for as this prodigious digging into such Rocks , must have been a very visible thing by the Mountaines of Rubbish that must have been brought out , and by the vast number of hands that must have been employed in it ; so it is absurd to think that they could hold their Assemblies amidst the annoyance of so much corruption. I found the steams so strong , that tho I am as little subject to vapours as most men , yet I had all the day long after I was in them, which was not near an hour, a confusion and as it were a boiling in my head , that disordred me extreamly ; and if there is now so much stagnating Air there , this must have been sensible in a more eminent and insufferable manner while there were vast numbers of bodies rotting in those niches. But besides this improbability that presents it self from the nature of the thing, I called to mind a passage of a Letter of Cornelius that was Bishop of Rome , after the middle of the third Century , which is preserved by Eusebius in his sixth Book , Chapter 43. in which we have the State of the Church of Rome at that time set forth. There were forty six Presbyters , seven Deacons , as many Subdeacons , and ninety four of the Inferior Orders of the Clergy among them : there were also



also fifteen hundred Widows, and other poor maintained out of the publick Charities. It may be reasonably supposed that the numbers of the Christians were as great when this Epistle was writ, as they were at any time before Constantine's dayes; for as this was writ at the end of that long peace, of which both S. Cyprian and Lactantius speak, that had continued above a hundred years; so after this time there was such a succession of Persecutions that came so thick one upon another after short intertals of quiet, that we cannot think the numbers of the Christians increased much beyond what they were at this time. Now there are two particulars in this State of the Clergy, upon which we may make a probable estimate of the numbers of the Christians: the one is their poor, which were but fifteen hundred, now upon an exact survey, it will be found that where the poor are well looked to, their number rises generally to be the thirtieth or fortieth part of mankind: and this may be well beleev'd to be the proportion of the poor among the Christians of that Age: For as their Charity was vigorous and tender, so we find *Celsus, Iulian, Lucian, Prophecy*, and others object this to the Christians of that time, that their Charities to the poor drew vast numbers of the lower sort among them, who made themselves Christians that they might be supplied by their Brethren: So that this being the State of the Christians, then we may reckon the poor the thirtieth part, and so fifteen hundred multiplied by thirty,

thirty , produce five and forty thousand : And I am the more inclined to think that this rises up near to the full sum of their numbers , by the other character of the numbers of the Clergy , for as there were forty six Presbyters , so there were ninety four of the inferior Orders , who were by two more then the double of the number of the Priests : and this was in a time in which the care of Souls was more exactly looked after, then it has been in the more corrupted Ages , the Clergy having then really more work on their hands, the instructing of their Catechumens, the visiting their Sick, and the supporting and comforting the weak, being tasks that required so much application, that in so vast a city as Rome was in those dayes , in which it is probable the Christians were scattred over the City , and mixed in all the parts of it, we make a conjecture that is not ill grounded, when we reckon that every Presbyter had perhaps about a thousand Souls committed to his care , so this rises to six and forty thousand : which comes very near the sum that may be gathered from the other hint, taken from the number of their poor. So that about fifty thousand is the highest account to which we can reasonably raise the numbers of the Christians of Rome in that time : And of so many persons , the old, the yong, and the women, make more then three fourth parts, so that men that were in condition to work were not above twelve thousand : and by consequence they were in no condition to undertake and carry on so vast a work.



If Cornelius in that Letter speaks of the numbers of the Christians in excessive terms, and if Tertullian in his Apologetick hath also set out the numbers of the Christians of his time, in a very high strain, that is only to be ascribed to a pompous eloquence, which disposeth people to magnifie their own party, and we must allow a good deal to a hyperbole that is very naturall to all that set forth their forces in general terms. It is true it is not so clear when those vast cavities were dug out of the rocks. We know that when the lawes of the twelve tables were made sepulture was then in use: and Rome being then grown to a vast bignes no doubt they had repositories for their dead: so that since none of the Roman Authors mention any such work it may not be unreasonable to Imagine that these vaults had been wrought and cut out from the first beginnings of the City, and so the later Authors had no occasion to take notice of it. It is also certain that the burning came to be in use among the Romans, yet they returned back to their first custome of burying bodies long before Constantines time; so that it was not the Christian religion that produced this change. All our modern writers take it for granted that the change was made in the times of the Antonins: yet there being no law made concerning it, and no mention being made in an Age full of writers, of any orders that were given for burying places Vesserus opinion seems more probable that the custome of burning more out by degrees

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grees, and since we are sure that they once buried it is more natural to think that the slaves and the meaner sort of people were still buried that being a lesse expenceful and a more simple way of bestowing their bodies then burning, which was both pompous and chargeable, and, if there were already burying places prepared, it is much easier to Imagine how the custome of burying grew Universal without any Law made concerning it.

I could not for some time find out upon what grounds the Modern Criticks take it for granted that burying began in the times of the Antonins; till I had the happines to talk of this matter with the learned Gronovius who seems to be such a Master of all the Antient learning as if he had the Authors lying alwayes open before him: he told me that it was certain the change from burning to burying was not made by the Christian Emperours, for Macrobius (lib. 7. chap. 7.) sayes, in plain terms, that the custome of burning the bodies of the dead was quite worn out in that age: which is a clear Intimation that it was not laid aside so late as by Constantin, and as there was no Law made by him on that head, so he and the succeeding Emperours gave such an entire tolleration to Paganisme, admitting those of that Religion to the greatest Employments, that it is not to be imagined that there was any order given against burning, so that it is clear the Heathens had changed it of their own accord: otherways we should have found that among the complaints

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complaints that they made of the grievances under  
 which they lay from the Christians. But it  
 is more difficult to fix the time when this  
 change was made. Gronovius shewed me a pas-  
 sage of Phlegons that mentions the bodies that  
 were laid in the ground, yet he did not build  
 on that, for it may have relation to the customs  
 of burying that might be else where. And  
 so Petronius gives the account of the burial  
 of the Ephesian Matrons husband: but he made  
 it apparent to me that burying was commonly  
 practised in Commodus's time, for Xiphilinus  
 tells us that in Pertinax's time the friends of  
 those whom Commodus had ordered to be put  
 to death had dug up their bodies some bring-  
 ing out only some parts of them, and others  
 raising their entire bodies. The same Au-  
 thor also tells us that Pertinax buried Com-  
 modus's body, and so saved it from the rage  
 of the people, and here is a positive Eviden-  
 ce that burying was the common practise of  
 that time. X It is true it is very probable that  
 as we see some of the Roman Families con-  
 tinued to bury their dead even when bur-  
 ning was the more common custome, so per-  
 haps others continued after this to burn their  
 dead the thing being Indifferent, and no law  
 being made about it, and therefore it was  
 particularly objected to the Christians after  
 this time, that they abhorred the custome of  
 burning the bodies of the dead, which is men-  
 tioned by Minutius Felix, but this or any  
 other evidences, that may be brought from  
 Meddalls of Consecrations after this time, will  
 on-

only prove that some were still burnt, and that the Christians practised burying Universally as expressing their beleefe of the Resurrection; whereas the Heathens held the thing Indifferent. It is also clear from the many genuine Inscriptions that have been found in the Catacombs which bear the dates of the Consuls, that these were the common buriall places of all the Christians of the fourth and fifth Century: for I doe not remember that there is any one date that is Antienter: and yet not one of the writers of those Ages speak of them as the work of the Primitive Christians. They speak indeed of the buriall places of the Martyrs, but that will prove no more but that the Christians might have had their quarters, and their walks in those common buriall places where they laid their dead, and which might have been known among them, tho it is not likely that they would in times of persecutions make such Inscriptions as might have exposed the bodies of their dead friends to the rage of their Enemies. And the Spurious acts of some Saints and Martyrs are of too little credit to give any support to the common Opinion. Damasus's Poetry is of no better authority. And tho those Ages were Inclined enough to give credit to Fables, yet it seems this of those Catacombs having been the work of the Primitive Christians was too grosse a thing to have been so early Imposed on the world. And this silence in an Age in which superstition was going on at so great a rate has much force in it, for so vast

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rection.

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a work, as those Catacombs are, must have been well known to all the Romans. It were easie to carry this much further, and to shew that the bas reliefs that have been found in some of those Catacombs, have nothing of the beauty of the ancient and Roman time. This is also more discernable in many Inscriptions that are more Gothick then Roman,) and there are so many Inscriptions relating to Fables, that it is plain these were of later times, and we see by St. Jerom that the Monks began, even in his time, to drive a trade of Reliques; so it is no wonder that to raise the credit of such a heap as was never to be exhausted, they made some miserable Sculptures, and some Inscriptions; and perhaps shut up the entries into them with much care and secrecy, intending to open them upon some dream or other artifice, to give them the more reputation, which was often practised in order to the drawing much wealth and great devotion, even to some single Relique; and a few being upon this secret, either those might have died, or by the many revolutions that hapned in Rome, they might have been dispersed before they made the discovery: And thus the knowledge of those places was lost, and came to be discovered by accident in the last Age, and hath ever since supplied them with an inexhaustible Magazin of Bones, which by all appearance are no other then the Bones of the Pagan Romans; which are now sent over the World to feed a superstition that is as blind as it proves expensive. And thus

thus the Bones of the Roman Slaves , or at least those of the meaner sort , are now set in Silver and Gold with a great deal of other costly garniture , and entertain the superstition of those who are willing to be deceived as well as they serve the ends of those that seek to deceive the World. But because it cannot be pretended that there was such a number of Christians at Naples , as could have wrought such Catacombs , and if it had been once thought that those were the common burial places of the ancient Heathens , that might have induced the world to think that the Roman Catacombs were no other ; therefore there hath been no care taken to examine these. I thought this deserved a large discourse , and therefore I have dwelt perhaps a little too long on this subject. I will not enter upon a long description of that which is so well known as Mount Vesuvio , it had roared so loud about month before I came to Naples , that at Naples they could hardly sleep in the nights, and some old Houses were so shaken by the Earthquake that was occasioned by this convulsion of the Hill, that they fell to the ground: And the last eruption, above fifty years ago , was so terrible that there was no small fear in Naples, tho it lies at the distance of seven miles from the Hill, yet the Storm was choaked under ground; for tho it smoakt much more then ordinary, yet there was no eruption: It was indeed smoking not only in the mouth of the little Mount that is formed within the great wast that the fire hath made, but also all along

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the bottom that is between the outward mouth of this Mountain, which is four miles in compass; and that inward Hill. When one sees the mouth of this fire, and so great a part of the Hill which is covered some foot deep with ashes and stones of a metallick composition, that the fire throws out, he cannot but stand amazed, and wonder what can be the fuel of so lasting a burning, that hath calcined so much matter, and spewed out such prodigious quantities. It is plain there are vast Veins of Sulphur all along in this Soil, and it seems in this Mountain they run along through some Mines and Rocks, and as their slow consumption, produceth a perpetual smoke, so when the Air within is so much rarified that it must open it self, it throws up those masses of Mettle and Rock that shut it in; but how this Fire draws in Air to nourish its Flame, is not so easily apprehended, unless there is either a conveyance of Air under  
 X ground, by some undiscovered vacuity, or a more insensible transmission of Air, through the pores of the Earth. The heat of this Hill operates so much upon the Soil that lies upon it toward the foot of it, that it  
 < produceth the richest Wine about Naples, and it  
 < also purifieth the Air so much, that the Village  
 < at bottom is thought the best Air of the Country, so that many come from Naples thither for their health. Ischia that is an Island not far from Naples, doth also sometimes, spew out fire. *This Island has in it*

*Ischia*

*so many fine new buildings & On  
 o Government. y<sup>t</sup> it is a wonder  
 non of our Travellers have  
 Curiosity to visit it.*

On the other side of Naples to the West, one passeth through the Cave that pierceth the Pausalippe, and is four hundred and forty paces long, for I walked it on foot to take its true measure, it is twenty foot broad, and at first forty foot high; but afterwards it is but twenty foot high; the Stone cut out here is good for building so that as this opened the way from Puzzoli to Naples, it was also a Quarry for the building of the Town: All along the way here one discovers a strange boiling within the ground, for a little beyond this grot of Pausalippe, as we come near the lake of Aniano, there is of the one hand, a bath occasioned by a steam that riseth so hot out of the ground, that as soon as one goeth a little into it, he finds himself all over in a sweat, which is very proper for some diseases, especially that which carries its name from Naples: And about twenty paces from thence, there is another little grot, that sends out a poisonous steam, that as it puts out a candle, as soon as it cometh near it, so it infallibly killeth any living creature within a minute of time; for in half that time a dog, upon which the experiment is commonly tried, the grott being from thence called Grotto di Cane, fell in a convulsion. From that one goeth to see the poor rests of Puzzoli, and of all that Bay that was once all about a tract of Towns, it having been the retreat of the Romans, during the heats of the summer. All the rarities here, have been so often, and so copiously described, that I am sensible I can add no-



thing to what is so well known. I will say no-  
 thing of the Amphitheater or of Cicero and  
 Virgils houses, for which there is nothing but  
 a dubious tradition; they are ancient brick  
 buildings of the Roman way, and the vaults  
 of Virgil's house are still intire; The Sulfatara  
 is a surprizing thing; here is a bottom out of  
 which the force of the fire, that breaks out still  
 in many places, in a thick steaming smoke, that  
 is full of Brimstone, did throw up about a hun-  
 dred and fifty years ago, a vast quantity of Earth  
 which was carried above three miles thence,  
 and formed the Hill called Monte Novo upon  
 the ruines of a Town, that was overwhelmed  
 with this eruption, which is of a very confi-  
 derable heighth, they told me that there was  
 before that time a Channel that went from  
 the Bay into the Lake of Averno, of which  
 one sees the beginnings in the Bay at some di-  
 stance from the shore; it carrieth still the na-  
 me of Julio's Mole, and is beleev'd to have  
 been made by Julius Cæsar. But by the swel-  
 ling of the ground upon the eruption of the Sul-  
 fatara, this passage is stopt, and the Averno is  
 now fresh water, it is eighteen fathom deep.  
 On the side of it is that amazing cave, where  
 the Sibil is said to have given out her inspira-  
 tions: the hewing it out of the Rock, hath  
 been a prodigious work, for the Rock is one  
 of the hardest stones in the World, and the  
 cave goeth in seven hundred foot long, twen-  
 ty foot broad, and as I could guess eighteen foot  
 high; And from the end of this great Galler-  
 y, there is a narrow passage of three foot  
 broad

broad, two hundred foot long, and seven high,  
 to a little apartment, to which we go in a  
 constant sloping descent from the great cave;  
 here are three little rooms: in one of them  
 there are some rests of an old Mosaick, with  
 which the Walls and Roof were laid over;  
 there is also a spring of Water, and a Bath in  
 which it is supposed the Sibil bathed her self;  
 and from this cave it is said that there runs a  
 cave all along to Cuma, which is three  
 long miles, but the passage is now choakt by  
 the falling in of the Rock in severall places:  
 This peece of work amazed me. I did not  
 much mind the popular opinion that is easily  
 received there, that all this was done by the  
 Devil; the marks of the chizzel in all the  
 parts of the Rock sheweth that this is not a  
 work of Nature. Certainly they had both  
 much leisure, and many hands at their com-  
 mand who set about it, and it seems to have  
 been wrought out with no other design but to  
 subdue the people more intirely to the conduct  
 of the Priests that managed this Imposture,  
 so busie and industrious hath the ambition and  
 fraud of the Priests been in all Ages and in all  
 corrupt Religions. But of all the Scenes of  
 Noble objects that present it self in the Bay  
 of Puzzoli, the rests of Caligula's Bridge are  
 the most amazing, for there are yet standing  
 eight or ten of the Pillars that supported the  
 Arches, and of some of the Arches the half  
 is yet intire. I had not a line with me to ex-  
 amine the depth of the Water where the fur-  
 thest of those Pillars is built, but my Water-  
 man

}  
 most  
 true

Caligula's  
 Bridge



man assured me it was fifty cubits. This I cannot beleieve, but it is certainly so deep that one can scarce imagine how it was possible to build in such a depth, and for the carrying off of the Sea that seems yet more impossible. It is a Noble Monument of the profuse and extravagant expence of a Brutal Tyrant, who made one of the vallest Bridges that ever was attempted over three or four miles of Sea, meerly to sacrifice so great a Treasure to his vanity: As for Agripina's Tomb, it is no great matter, only the bas reliefs are yet entire. The marvellous Fish-Pond is a great Basin of Water wrought like a huge Temple standing upon eight and forty great Pillars all hewed out of the Rock; and they are laid over with four crusts of the old Plaister, which is now as hard as stone; this is beleieved to be a work of Nero's: and about a quarter of a mile from thence there is another vast work which goeth into a Rock; but at the entrance there is a noble Portico built of Pillars of Brick, and as one enters into the Rock he finds a great many rooms regularly shaped, hewed out of the Rock, and all covered over with Plaister, which is still intire, and so white that one can hardly think that it hath not been washed over since it was first made; there are a vast number of those rooms, they are said to be a hundred; from whence this cave carrieth the name of the *Centum Camera*: This hath been as expensive a work as it is useless, it is intituled to Nero, and here they say he kept his Prisoners. But there is nothing in all

*nota*  
*Caligulas*  
*bridge was*  
*made of*  
*boats, as*  
*Sutton*  
*us says*

*Our author is mistaken concerning <sup>this</sup> Caligulas bridge*

this bay that is both so curious and so usefull as the Baths, which seems to flow from the same reason that is the cause of these eruptions in the Vesuvio and Sulfatara, and the Grottos formerly mentioned; that as this heat makes some Fountains there to be boiling hot, so it sends up a steam through the Rock that doth not break through the pores of the Stone where it is hard, but where the Rock is soft and spongy there the steams come through with so melting a heat that a man is soon, as it were, dissolved in sweat; but if he stoops low in the passages that are cut in the Rock he finds no heat, because there the Rock is hard. Those steams as they are all hot, so they are impregnated with such Minerals as they find in their way through the Rock; and near this Bath there are Galleries hewed out of the Rock and faced with a building; in which there are, as it were Bedsteads made in the Walls, upon which, those that come thither, to sweat for their health, lay their Quilts and Bed-cloaths, and so come regularly out of their sweats.

It is certain that a man can no where pass a day of his life both with so much pleasure, and with such advantage, as he finds in this journey to Puzzoli and all along the Bay: but tho anciently this was all so well built, so peopled, and so beautifully laid out, yet no where doth one see more visibly what a change time brings upon all places: for Naples hath so intirely eat out this place, and drawn its Inhabitants to it, that as Puzzoli it self is but a small village, so there is now no other in all this Bay, which  
was



was anciently built almost all round, for there were seven big Towns upon it. Having thus told you what I found most considerable in Naples, I cannot pass by that Noble remnant of the Via Appia that runs along thirty miles of the way between it and Rome, without making some mention of it: this high-way is twelve foot broad, all made of huge stones, most of them blew, and they are generally a foot and half large of all sides: the strength of this causeway appears in its long duration, for it hath lasted above eighteen hundred years: and is in most places for several miles together, as intire as when it was first made: and the botches that have been made for mending such places, that have been worn out by time, shews a very visible difference between the ancient and the modern way of paving. One thing seems strange that the way is level with the earth on both sides: whereas so much weight as those Stones carry should have sunk the ground under them by its pressure: Besides that the Earth, especially in low grounds, receives a constant increase chiefly by the dust which the Winds or Brooks carry down from the Hills, both which reasons should make a more sensible difference between those wayes and the soil on both sides: and this makes me apt to beleeve that anciently those wayes were a little raised above the level of the ground, and that a course of so many Ages hath now brought them to an equality: Those wayes were chiefly made for such as go on foot: for as nothing is more pleasant then to walk  
along

along them, so nothing is more inconvenient for Horses and all sorts of carriage, and indeed Mulets are the only beasts of burthen that can hold out long in this Road, which beats all Horses after they have gone it a little while. There are several rests of Roman Antiquities at the Mole of Cajeta; but the Isle of Caprea, now called Crapa, which is a little way into the Sea off from Naples, gave me a strange Idea of Tiberius's Reign, since it is hard to tell whether it was more extraordinary to see a Prince abandon the best Seats and Palaces of Italy, and shut himself up in a little Island, in which I was told there was a tradition of seven little Palaces that he built in it; or to see so vast a body as the Roman Empire so governed by such a Tyrannical Prince, at such a distance from the chief Scene, so that all might have been reversed long before that the news of it could have been brought to him. And as there is nothing more wonderfull in Story then to see so vast a State that had so great a sense of liberty, subdued by so brutal and so voluptuous a man as Anthony, and so raw a youth as Augustus; so the wonder is much improved when we see a Prince at a hundred and fifty milies distance, shut up in an Island, carry the Reins of so great a body in his hand, and turn it which way he pleased.

But now I come to Rome, which as it was once the Empress of the World in a succession of many Ages, so hath in it at present more

cu-

*Rome*



curious things to entertain the attention of a Traveller, then any other place in Europe. On the side of Tuscany, the entry into Rome is very surprizing to strangers, for one cometh along for a great many miles, upon the remains of the *Via Flamminia*, which is not indeed so entire as the *Via Appia*; yet there is enough left to raise a just Idea of the Roman greatness who laid such causewaies all Italy over. And within the Gate of the Porta di Populo, there is a Noble Obelisk, a vast Fountaine, two fine little Churches, like two twins resembling one another, as well as placed near one another, and on several hands one sees a long Vista of streets. There is not a Town in these parts of the World where the Churches, Covents, and Palaces are so Noble, and where the other Buildings are so mean, which indeed discovers very visibily the misery under which the Romans groan. The Churches of Rome are so well known that I will not adventure on any description of them, and indeed I had too transient a view of them to make it with that degree of exactness which the subject requires. S. Peters alone would make a big Book, not to say a long Letter. Its length heighth and breadth are all so exactly proportioned, and the eye is so equally possessed with all these, that the whole, upon the first view, doth not appear so vast as it is found to be upon a more particular attention: and as the four Pillars upon which the Cupulo rises, are of such a prodigious bigness that one would think they were strong enough

true

<sup>+</sup>  
S. P. Ch.

our author observes justly. p.  
That an absolute Monarchie  
(if elective) is the worst form of govt.

enough to bear any superstructure whatsoever, so when one climbs up to the top of that vast heighth, he wonders what Foundation can bear so huge a weight; for as the Church is of a vast heighth, so the Cupulo rises four hundred and fifteen big steps above the Roof of the Church. In the heighth of the Concave of this Cupulo, there is a representation, that tho it can hardly be seen from the floor below, unless one hath a good sight, and so it doth not perhaps give much scandal, yet it is a gross indication of the Idolatry of that Church; for the Divinity is there pictured as an ancient man compassed about with Angels. I will say nothing of the great Altar, of the Chair of S. Peter, of the great Tombs; of which the three chief are Paul the I I I, Urban the V I I I. and Alexander the V I I. nor of the vast Vaults under this Church, and the remains of Antiquity that are reserved in them: nor will I undertake a description of the adjoining Palace, where the painting of the Corridori, and of many of the Rooms by Raphael and Michael Angelo are so rich, that one is sorry to see work of that value laid on fresco, and which must by consequence wear out too soon, as in several places it is almost quite lost already. I could not but observe in the *Sala Regia* that is before the famous Chappel of Sisto V. and that is all painted in fresco, one corner that represents the murther of the renowned Admiral Chastilion, and that hath written under it those words *Rex Colinii necem probat*: The vast  
length

*The  
Vatican*



length of the Gallery on one side : and of the Library in another do surprize one ; the Gardens have many Statues of a most excessive value , and some good Fountains ; but the Gardens are ill entertained both here and in the Palace on the Quirinal. And indeed in most of the Palaces of Rome if there were but a small cost laid out to keep all in good case that is brought together at so vast a charge , they would make another sort of shew , and be looked at with much more pleasure : In the apartments of Rome there are a great many things that offend the sight : The Doors are generally mean , and the Locks meaner , except in the Palace of Prince Borghese , where as there is the vastest collection of the best pieces , and of the hands of the greatest Masters that is in all Europe , so the Doors and Locks give not that distast to the eye , that one finds elsewhere. The Flooring of the Palaces is all of Brick , which is so very mean , that one sees the disproportion that is between the Floors and the rest of the Room , not without a sensible perception and dislike. It is true they say their Air is so cold and moist in Winter that they cannot pave with Marble ; and the heat is sometimes so great in Summer , that Flooring of Wood would crack with heat , as well as be eat up by the vermin that would nestle in it. But if they kept in their great Palaces servants to wash their Floors , with that care that is used in Holland , where the Air is moister , and the

a censur  
of the  
Locks  
Doors

Floors

the climate is more productive of Vermin, }  
 they would not find such effects from wooden  
 floors, as they pretend. In a word there are  
 none that lay out so much wealth all at once,  
 as the Italians do upon the building and finishing  
 of their Palaces and Gardens, and that after-  
 wards bestow so little on the preserving of  
 them: another thing I observed in their Pala-  
 ces; there is indeed a great series of Noble  
 rooms one within another, of which their a-  
 partments are composed, but I did not find,  
 at the end of the apartments, where the Bed-  
 Chamber is, such a disposition of rooms for  
 back-stairs, dressing-rooms, closets, servants  
 rooms, and other conveniences as are necessa-  
 ry for accommodating the Apartment. It is  
 true this is not so necessary for an apartment of  
 State, in which magnificence is more confi-  
dered than convenience; but I found the same  
 want in those apartments in which they lodg-  
 ed; so that notwithstanding all the riches of  
 their Palaces, it can not be said that they are  
 well lodged in them, and their Gardens are yet  
 less understood, and worse kept than their Pa-  
 laces. It is true the Villa Borghese ought to  
 be excepted where as there is a prodigious col-  
 lection of bas reliefs, with which the Walls  
 are, as it were, covered all over, that are of  
 a vast value; so the statues within, of which  
 some are of Porphyry, and others of Touch-  
 stone, are amazing things: The whole grounds  
 of this Park, which is about three miles in  
 compass; and in which there are six or seven  
 lodges, are laid out so sweetly, that I thought

& Contrivance

X

V. Borghese



Villa  
Pamphilia

I was in an English Park when I walked over it. The *Villa Pamphilia* is better situated upon a higher ground, and hath more Water-works, and twice the extent of the other in Soil, but neither doth the House nor Statues approach to the riches of the other, nor are the grounds so well laid out and so well kept. But for the Furniture of the Palaces of Rome, the publick apartments are all covered over with Pictures and for those apartments in which they lodge they are generally furnished either with red Velvet, or red Damask, with a broad gold Galloon at every breadth of the stuff, and a gold Fringe at top and bottom, but there is very little Tapistry in Italy.

Vatican  
Library

I have been carried into all this digression, from the general view, that I was giving you of the Popes Palace. I named one part of it which well engaged me into new digression, as it will deserve one, and that is the Library of the Vatican: The Case is great, but that which is lodged in it is much greater; for here is a collection of Books that filleth a mans eye: There is first a great Hall, and at the end of it there runs out on both sides, two Galleries of so vast a length, that tho the half of them is already furnished with Books, yet one would hope that there is room left for more new Books than the World will ever produce. The Heidelberg Library stands by it self, and filleth the one side of the Gallery, as the Duke of Urbins Library of Manuscripts filleth the other. But tho these last are very fair and beautiful, yet they are not of such Antiquity as those

those of Heidelberg: When it appeared that I was come from England, King Henry the VIIIs. Book of the seven Sacraments, with an inscription writ upon it with his own hand to Pope Leo the X. was shewed me; together with a collection of some Letters that he writ to Anne Bolen of which some are in English, and some in French. I that knew his hand well saw clearly that they were no forgeries. There are not many Latin Manuscripts of great antiquity in this Library; some few of Virgils I saw writ in Capitals. But that which took up almost half of one day that I spent at one time in this place, related to the present dispute that is on foot between Mr. Shelfstrate the Library-keeper; and Mr. Maimbourg, concerning the Council of Constance. The two points in debate are the words of the decree made in the fourth Session, and the Popes confirmation. In the fourth Session, according to the French Manuscripts, a Decree was made, subjecting the Pope, and all other persons whatsoever, to the authority of the Council, and to the Decrees it was to make, and to the Reformation it intended to establish both in the Head and the Members: which as it implies that the Head was corrupted and needed to be reformed, so it sets the Council so directly above the Pope, that this Session being confirmed by the Pope, putteth those who assert the Popes infallibility to no small straits: For if Pope Martin that approved this Decree was infallible, then this Decree is good still; and if he was not infallible, no other Pope was

*Ex Constan*



infallible: To all this Schelstrat answers from  
 his Manuscripts that the words of a Reforma-  
 tion, in Head and Members, are not in the  
 Decree of that Session; and he did shew me se-  
 veral Manuscripts, of which two were evident-  
 ly writ during the sitting of the Council, and  
 were not at all dashed, in which these words  
 were not. I know the hand and way of writ-  
 ing of that Age too well to be easily mistaken  
 in my judgement concerning those Manu-  
 scripts; but if those words are wanting, there  
 are other words in them that seem to be much  
 stronger for the superiority of the Council  
 above that Pope. For it is Decreed that Po-  
 pes, and all other persons, were bound to sub-  
 mit to the decisions of the Council, as to  
 Faith: which words are not in the French Ma-  
 nuscripts: Upon this I told M. Schelstrat that  
 I thought the words in these Manuscripts were  
 stronger then the other: since the word Refor-  
 mation, as it was used in the time of that Coun-  
 cel, belonged chiefly to the correcting of abu-  
 ses, it being often applied to the regulations  
 that were made in the Monastick Orders, when  
 they were brought to a more exact observati-  
 on of the rule of their Order: So tho the Coun-  
 cel had ~~done~~ <sup>decreed</sup> a Reformation both of Head and  
 Members, I do not see that this would import  
 more then that the Papacy had fallen into some  
 disorders that needed a Reformation: and this  
 is not denied even by those who assert the Po-  
 pes infallibility: but a submission to points of  
 Faith, that is expressly asserted in the Roman  
 Manuscripts, is a much more positive evidence  
 against

against the Popes Infallibility : and the word Faith is not capable of so large a sense as may be justly ascribed to Reformation. But this difference, in so main a point between Manuscripts concerning so late a transaction, gave me an occasion to reflect on the vast uncertainty of tradition, especially of matters that are at a great distance from us; when those that were so lately transacted, are so differently represented in Manuscripts, and in which, both those of Paris and Rome seem to carry all possible evidences of sincerity. As for the Popes confirmation of that Decree it is true by a General Bull, Pope Martin confirmed the Council of Constance to such a period; but besides that he made a particular Bull, as Schelstrat assured me, in which he enumerated all the Decrees that he confirmed, and among those this Decree concerning the superiority of the Council is not named; this seemed to be of much more importance, and therefore I desired to see the Original of the Bull: for there seem to be just reasons to apprehend a forgery here: He promised to do his endeavours, tho he told me that would not be easie, for the Bulls were strictly kept; and the next day when I came, hoping to see it, I could not be admitted: but he assured me that if that had not been the last day of my stay at Rome, he would have procured a Warrant for my seeing the Original: so this is all I can say as to the authenticity of that Bull: But supposing it to be genuine, I could not agree to Mr. Schelstrat that the Ge-

(\*)  
I think not  
for they who ascribe the Popes infallibility do acknowledge that he is bound to submit to decisions of Councils confirmed by himself or his predecessors in point of faith — as says no more  
But y<sup>e</sup> he is bound to believe what he hears others to believe.



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but y<sup>t</sup> this is bound to believe what he teaches others to believe.



neral Bull of Confirmation, ought to be limited to the other that enumerates the particular Decrees: but since that particular Bull was never discovered till he hath found it out, it seems it was secretly made, and did not pass according to the forms of the Consistory: and was a fraudulent thing of which no noise was to be made in that Age, and therefore in all the dispute that followed in the Council of Basil between the Pope and the Council, upon this very point, no mention was ever made of it by either side: and thus it can have no force, unless it be to discover the artifices and fraud of that Court: that at the same time in which the necessity of their affairs obliged the Pope to confirm the Decrees of the Council, he contrived a secret Bull, which in another Age might be made use of, to weaken the Authority of the General Confirmation that he gave: and therefore a Bull that doth not pass in due form and is not promulgated is of no Authority: and so this Pretended Bull cannot limit the other Bull. There were some other things, relating to this debate, that were shewed me by Mr. Schellstrat, but these being the most important, I mention them only. I will not give you here a large account of the learned men at Rome, Bellori is deservedly famous for his knowledge of the Greek and Egyptian Antiquities, and for all that belongs to the Mythologies and superstitions of the Heathens, and hath a Closet richly furnished with things relating to those matters. Fabretti is justly celebrated for his Understanding

Bellori  
Fabretti

In your former paper what you Author calls your uncertainty of Tradition is what he cannot and can never be certain of. He is called by which family of can bring things by writ for it is by that way we know, being assisted by will Tradition. For he is speaking of a man who is As to his Father's Bull if it was not duly passed & published by authority is in this respect as to this Enquiry further.

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bricks. Padre Fabri is the chief Honour of  
 the Jesuits Colledge, and is much above the  
 common rate both for Philosophy, Mathema-  
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 those others whom I have mentioned, and  
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*Fabri*

*Nazari*

One sees in Cardinal d'Estrees all the advan-  
 tages of a high birth, great parts, a generous  
 civility, and a measure of knowledge farre  
 above what can be expected from a person of  
 his rank; but as he gave a noble protection  
 to one of the leardnest men that this Age hath  
 produced, Mr. Launnoy who lived many  
 years with him, so it is visible that he made a  
 great progress by the conversation of so extraor-  
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 there is now none of the Colledge equal to him.  
 Cardinal Howard is too well known in England  
 to need any character from me. The elevation of  
 his present condition hath not in the least chan-  
 ged him; he hath all the sweetness and gentleness  
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 Purple, and as he sheweth all the generous



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care and concern for his Country men that they can expect from him; so I met with so much of it in so many obliging marks of his goodness for my selfe a that went for beyond a common civility, that I cannot enough acknowledge it. I was told the Popes Confessor was a very extraordinary man for the Oriental Learning, which is but little known in Rome: He is a Master of the Arabick Tongue, and hath writ, as Abbot Nazari told me, the learnedst Book against the Mahometan Religion, that the World hath yet seen, but it is not yet Printed: He is not so much esteemed in Rome as he would be elsewhere, for his Learning is not in vogue, and the School Divinity and Casuistical Learning, being that for which Divines are most esteemed there; he whose Studies lead him another way, is not so much valued as he ought to be, and perhaps the small account that the Pope makes of learned men, turns some what upon the Confessor, for it is certain that this is a Reigne in which Learning is very little encouraged.

Upon the generall contempt that all the Romans have, for the present Pontificate, one made a pleasant reflection to me, he said those Popes that intended to raise their Families, as they saw the censure that this brought upon them, so they studied to lessen it by other things that might soften the Spirits of the people. No man did more for beautifying Rome, for finishing St. Peters, and the Library, and for furnishing Rome with water, then Pope Paul the V. tho at the  
same

same time he did not forget his Family ; and tho the other Popes that have raised great Families , have not done this to so eminent a degree as he did , yet there are many remains of their Magnificence , whereas those Popes that have not raised Families , have it seems thought that alone was enough to maintain their reputation , and so they have not done much either to recommend their Government to their Subjects , or their Reign to posterity ; and it is very plain that the present Pope taketh no great care of this. His life hath been certainly very innocent , and free of all those publick scandals that make a noise in the World , and there is at present a regularity in Rome that deserveth great commendation , for publick Vices are not to be seen there : His personal sobriety is also singular. One assured me that the expence of his Table did not amount to a crown a day , ~~tho~~ tho this is indeed short of Sixto V. who gave order to his Steward never to exceed five and twenty bajokes , that is eighteen pence a day for his Diet. The Pope is very carefull of his health , and doth never expose it , for upon the least disorder he shuts himself up in his Chamber , and often keepeth his Bed for the least indisposition many daies ; but ~~this~~ his Government is severe , and his Subjects are ruined.

And here one thing cometh into my mind which perhaps is not ill grounded, that the poverty of a Nation , not only dispeoples it , by driving the people out of it, but by weakening



ning the natural fertility of the Subjects, for as men and women well cloathed, and well fed, that are not exhausted with perpetual labour, and with the tearing anxieties that want brings with it, must be much more lively then those that are pressed with want; so it is very likely that the one must be much more disposed to propagate then the other: and this appeared more evident to me, when I compared the fruitfulness of Geneva and Switzerland, with the barrenness that reigns over all Italy. I saw two extraordinary instances of the copious productions of Geneva: Mr. Tronchin that was Professor of Divinity, and Father to the judicious and worthy Professor of the same name, that is now there, died at the age of seventy six years, and had a hundred and fifteen persons all alive, that had either descended from him, or by marriage with those that descended from him, called him Father. And Mr. Calendrin a pious and laborious Preacher of that Town, that is descended from the Family of the Calendrini; who receiving the Reformation about a hundred and fifty years ago, left Lucca their Native City with the Turretini, the Diodati, and the Bourlamachi, and some others that came and settled at Geneva: He is now but seven and fourty years old, and yet he hath a hundred and five persons the are descended of his Brothers and Sisters, or married to them; so that if he liveth but to eighty, and the Family multiplieth as it hath done; he may see some hundred that will be in the same relation.

lation to him; but such things as these are not to be found in Italy.

There is nothing that delights a stranger more in Rome, then to see the great Fountains of Water that are almost in all the corners of it: That old aquaduct which Paul the V. restored, cometh from a collection of Sources, five and thirty miles distant from Rome, that runs all the way upon an aqueduct in a channel that is vaulted, and is liker a River then a Fountain: It breaketh out in five severall Fountains, of which some give water about a foot square. That of Sixtus the V. the great Fnnntain of Aqua Travi, that hath yet no decoration, but dischargeth a prodigious quantity of VVater. The glorious Fountain in the Piazza Navona that hath an air of greatness in it that surprizeth one, the Fountain in the piazza de Spagna, those before S. Peters: and the Palazzo Farnese with many others, furnish Rome so plentifully, that almost every private House hath a Fountain that runs continually: All these I say are noble decorations, that carry an usefulness with them that cannot be enough commended: and gives a much greater Idea of those who have taken care to supply this City, with one of the chief pleasures and conveniences of life, then of others who have laid out millions meerly to bring quantities of Water to give the eye a little diversion, which would have been laid out much more nobly and usefully, and would have more effectually eternized their fame, if they had been im-

Sixtus  
V

L. 14 at  
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imploied as the Romans did their Treasures in furnishing great Towns with VVarer.

There is an universal Civility that reignes among all sorts of people at Rome, which in a great measure flows from their Government, for every man being capable of all the advancements of that State, since a simple Ecclesiastick may become one of the Monsignori: and one of these may be a Cardinal, and one of these may be chosen Pope, this makes every man behave himself towards all other persons with an exactness of respect: for no man knows what any other may grow to. But this makes professions of esteem and kindness go so promiscuously to all sorts of persons, that one ought not to build too much on them. The conversation of Rome is generally upon news, for tho there is no news Printed there, yet in the several Antichambers of the Cardinals (where if they make any considerable figure, there are Assemblies of those that make their Court to them) one is sure to hear all the news of Europe together with many speculations upon what passeth. At the Queen of Swedens all that relateth to Germany or the North is ever to be found, and that Princess that must ever reign among all that have a true tast either of wit or learning, hath still in her drawing Rooms the best Court of the strangers, and her civility together with the vast variety with which she furnisheth her conversation, maketh her to be the chief of all the living rarities that one sees in Rome; I will not use her own word,

to

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to my selfe which was, that she now grew to be one of the Antiquities of Rome. The Ambassadors of Crowns, who live here in another form then in any other Court, and the Cardinals and Prelates of the severall Nations, that do all meet and center here, maketh that there is more news in Rome then any where: For Priests and the men of Religions Orders, write larger and more particular Letters, then any other sort of men. But such as apply themselves to make their Court here, are condemned to a losse of time that had need be well recompenced, for it is very great. As for one that Studies Antiquities, Pictures, Statues, or Musick, there is more entertainment for him at Rome, then in all the rest of Europe, but if he hath not a tast of these things, he will soon be weary of a place where the Conversation is alwaies general, and where there is little sincerity or opennes practised, and by consequence, where friendship is little understood. The Women here begin to be a little more conversable, tho a Nation naturally jealous, will hardly allow a great liberty in a City that is composed of Ecclesiasticks; who being denied the priviledge of Wives of their own, are suspected of being sometimes too bold with the Wives of others: The liberties that were taken in the Constable of Naples's Palace, had indeed disgusted the Romans much at that freedom, which had no bounds. But the Dutches of Bracciano that is a French Woman, hath by the exactness of her deportment, amidst all the innocent Freedoms of

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of a Noble conversation, recovered in a great measure, the credit of those liberties that Ladies, beyond the Mountains, practise with all the strictness of Vertue; For she receiveth visits at publick hours, and in publick rooms, and by the liveliness of her conversation, maketh that her Court is the pleasantest Assembly of strangers, that is to be found in any of the Palaces of the Italians at Rome.

I will not ingage in a description of Rome either ancient or modern, this hath been done so oft, and with such exactnes, that nothing can be added to what hath been already published. It is certain that when one is in the Capitol, and sees those poor rests of what once it was, he is surprized to see a building of so great a fame sunk so low, that one can scarce imagine that it was one once a Castle, scituated upon a Hill able to hold out against a Siege of the Gauls: The Tarpeian Rock is now of so small a fall, that a man would think it no great matter, for his diversion to leap over it: and the shape of the ground hath not been so much altered on one side, as to make us think it is very much changed on the other. For Severus's Triumphal Arch, which is at the foot of the Hill on the other side, is not now buried above two foot within the ground, as the vast Amphitheater of Titus is not above three foot sunk under the level of the geound. Within the Capitol one sees many Noble remnants of Antiquity, but none is more glorious, as well as more usefull, then the Tables of their Consuls which are

are upon the Walls: and the Inscription on the Columna Rostrata in the time of the first Punick warre, is without doubt the most valuable Antiquity in Rome. From this all along the sacred way, one findeth such remnants of Old Rome in the ruins of the Temples, in the Triumphal Arches, in the Portico's, and other remains of that Glorious Body, that as one cannot see these too often, so every time one sees them, they kindle in him vast ideas of that Republick, and make him reflect on that which he learned in his youth with great pleasure. From the heighth of the Convent of Araceli a man hath a full view of all the extent of Rome, but literally it is now *seges ubi Roma fuit*; for the parts of the City, that were most inhabited anciently, are those that are now laid in great Gardens, or, as they call them, Vineyards, of which some are half a mile in compass: The vastness of the Roman magnificence and luxury, is that which passeth imagination; the prodigious Amphitheater of Titus, that could conveniently receive eighty five thousand spectators; the great extent of the Circus maximus; the vaults where the Waters that furnished Titus's baths, and above all Diocletian's Baths, tho built when the Empire was in its decay, are so far above all modern buildings, that there is not so much as room for a comparison. The extent of those baths is above half a mile in compass: the vastness of the rooms in which the Bathers might swim of which the Carthusians Church, that yet remains intire, is one, and the many

Tho the Egyptian pyramids <sup>great</sup> be vast yet Mons Perrault contends that Versailles is finer & more according to the rules of art then any thing in Antient



great Pillars all of one stone, of Marble beautifully spotted, are things of which these latter Ages are not capable. The beauty of their Temples, and of the Portico's before them is amazing, chiefly that of the Rotunda, where the Fabrick without looketh as mean being only Brick, as the Architecture is bold: for it riseth up in a Vault, and yet at the top there is an open left of thirty foot in Diameter, which, as it is the only Window of the Church, so it filleth it with light, and is the hardiest peece of Architecture that ever was made. The Pillars of the Portico are also the noblest in Rome, they are the highest and biggest that one can see any where all of one Stone: and the numbers of those ancient Pillars with which, not only many of the Churches are beautified, chiefly S. Mary Maggiore, and S. John in the Lateran, but with which even private houses are adorned, and of the fragments of which there are such multitudes in all the streets of Rome, giveth a great idea of the expencefulness of the old Romans in their buildings: for the hewing and fetching a few of those Pillars, must have cost more then whole Palaces do now: since most of them were brought from Greece: Many of these Pillars are of Porphyry, others of Jasp, others of granated Marble, but the greatest number is of white Marble: The two Columns Trajans and Antonins: the two Horses that are in the Mount Cavallo, and the other two Horses in the Capitol, which have not indeed the postures and motion of the other, The brasse horse

horse that as is beleev'd carrieth Marcus Aurelius; the remains of Nero's Colossus, the Temple of Bacchus near the Catacomb of S. Agnes, which is the intirest and the least altered of all the ancient Temples: The great Temple of Peace; those of the Sun and Moon: that of Romulus and Remus, (which I considered as the ancientest Fabrick that is now left, for it is little and simple, and standeth in such a place, that when Rome grew so costly, it could not have been let alone unchanged, if it had not been that it was revered for its Antiquity) the many other Portico's, the Arches of Severus, of Titus, and Constantine, in the last of which one sees that the sculpture of his age, was much sunk from what it had been, only in the top there are some bas reliefs that are clearly of a much ancients time, and of a better manner. And that which exceedeth all the rest, the many great Aqueducts that come from all hands and run over a vast distance, are things which a man cannot <sup>see</sup> oft enough, if he would form in himself a just idea of the vastness of that Republick, or rather Empire: There are many Statues and Pillars, and other Antiquities of great value dug up in all the quarters of Rome these last hundred and fourscore years, since Pope Leo the Xs. time; who as he was the greatest Patron of Learning and Arts, that perhaps ever was, so was the generousst Prince that ever reigned; and it was he that first set on foot the inquiring into the riches of Old Rome, that lay, till his time, for the most part, hid under ground; and indeed if he had been less scandalous in his Impiety and Atheism,



theism, of which neither he nor his Court were so much as ashamed, he had been one of the most celebrated persons of any Age. Soon after him Pope Paul the III. gave the ground of the Monte Palatino to his Family: But I was told that this large piece of ground, in which one should look for the greatest collection of the Antiquities of the highest value, since this is the ruine of the Palace of the Roman Emperors, hath never been yet searched into with any exactness: So that when a curious Prince cometh that is willing to imploy many hands in digging up and down this Hill, we may expect new Scenes of Roman Antiquities. But all this matter would require Volumes, and therefore I have only named these things; because I can add nothing to those copious descriptions that have been so oft made of them. Nor will I say any thing of the modern Palaces or the Ornaments of them, either in Pictures or Statues, which are things that carry one so far, that it is not easie to give bounds to the descriptions into which one findeth himself carried, when he once enters upon so fruitful a subject. The number of the Palaces is great, and every one of them hath enough to fix the attention of a Traveller, till a new one drives the former out of his thoughts: It is true the Palestrina, the Borghese, and the Farnese have somewhat in them that leave an impression which no new objects can wear out: and as the last hath a noble square before it with two great Fountains in it, so the Statue of Hercules and the Bull that are below, and the Gallery above stairs are unvaluable

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Palestrina  
Borghese  
P. Farnese

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soever their Religion may be that no man needs be affraid there : And I have more then ordinary reason to acknowledge this who having ventured to go thither , after all the liberty that I had taken to writ my thoughts freely both of the Church and See of Rome, and was known by all with whom I conversed there, yet met with the highest civilities possible among all sorts of people, and in particular both among the English and Scottish Jesuites, tho they knew well enough that I was no friend to their Order.

In the Gallery of the English Jesuits among the Pictures of their Martyrs, I did not meet with Garnet ; for perhaps that name is so well known , that they would not exposed a Picture , with such a name on it , to all strangers , yet Oldcorn , being a name less known, is hung there among their Martyrs, tho he was as clearly convicted of the Gun-powder Treason, as the other was : and it seemed a little strange to me to see that a time in which, for other reasons the writers of that Communion have not thought fit, to deny the truth of that Conspiracy a Jesuit convicted of the blackest crime that ever was projected , should be reckoned among their Martyrs. I saw likewise there the Original of these Emblematical Prophecies, relating to England , that the Jesuits have had at Rome near sixty years , and of which I had some time ago procured a Copy , so I found my Copy was true. I hapned to be at Rome during St, Gregory's Fair and Feast , which lasted

lasted several daies. In his Church the Hosty was exposed: and from that, all that came thither, went to the Chappell that was once his House, in which his Statue and the Table where he served the poor, are preserved: I saw such vast numbers of people there, that one would have thought all Rome was got together. They all kneeled down to his Statue, and after a prayer said to it, they kissed his foot, and every one touched the Table with his Beads, as hoping to draw some vertue from it. I will add nothing of the several Obelisks and Pillars that are in Rome, of the celebrated Chappels that are in some of the great Churches, in particular those of Sixtus the V. and Paul the V. in Santa Maria Maggiore, of the Water works in the Quirinal, the Vatican, and in many of the Vineyards: Nor will I go out of Rome to describe *Frescati*, (for *Tivoli* I did not see) The young Prince Borghese, who is indeed one of the glories of Rome as well for his learning as for his vertue, did me the Honour to carry me thither with those two learned Abbots *Fabretti* and *Nazari*, and entertained me with a magnificence that became him better to give then me to receive. The Water-works in the Aldobrandin Palace have a magnificence in them beyond all that I ever saw in France, the mixture of Wind with the Water, and the Thunders and Storms that this maketh is noble: The Water-works of the *Ludovisio*, and the *Monte Dragone*, have likewise a great-

*Frescati  
(Tivoli)*

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*Of Tivoli Horace says*

*Tibur Argæo positum Colono*

*Sil. mea sedes utinam foret. &c.*



greatness in them that is natural ; and indeed the riches that one meets with in all places within doors in Italy , and the poverty that one seeth every where abroad are the most unsuitable things imaginable : but it is very likely that a great part of their movable Wealth will be ere long carried into France ; for as soon as any Picture or Statue of great value is offered to be sold, those that are imploied by the King of France , do presently buy it up so that as that King hath already, the greatest collection of Pictures that is in Europe , he will very probably in a few years more, bring together the chief Treasures of Italy.

I have now given you an account of all that appeared most remarkable to me in Rome. I shall to this adde a very extraordinary peece of Natural History that fell out there within these two years, which I had first from those two learned Abbots Fabretti and Nazari , and that was afterwards more authentically confirmed to me by Cardinal Howard , who was one of the Congregation of Cardinals that examined and judged the matter. There were two Nuns near Rome, one as I remember was in the City, and the other not far from it , who , after they had been for some years in a Nunnery, perceived a very strange change in Nature, and that their Sexe was altered , which grew by some degrees a total alteration in one: and tho the other was not so entire a change , yet it was visible she was more Man then Woman; upon this the matter was looked into : That which

which naturally offereth it self here , is that these two had been alwaies what they then appeared to be ; but that they had gone into a Nunnery in a disguise to gratifie a brutal appetite. But to this , when I proposed it , answer was made, that as the breasts of a Woman that remained still , did in a great measure shake off that objection , so the proofs were given so fully of their having been real females that there was no doubt left of that , nor had they given any sort of scandal in the change of their Sex ; And if there had been any room left to suspect a cheat or disguise , the proceedings would have been both more severe and more secret ; and these persons would have been burnt , or at least put to death in some terrible manner. Some Physitians and Chyrurgians were appointed to examin the matter , and at last , after a long and exact inquiry , they were judged to be absolved from their vows , and were dismissed from the obligation of a Religious life , and required to go in mens habit. One of them was a Valet de Chambre to a Roman Marquess , when I was there : I heard of this matter only two daies before I left Rome , so that I had not time to inquire after it more particularly ; but I judged it so extraordinary that I thought it was worth communicating it to so curious an Inquirer into nature.

And since I am upon the subject of the changes that have been made in nature , I shall add one of another sort that I examined

Q. iiij.

while.



while I was at Geneva : There is a Minister of S. Gervais , Mr. Gody , who hath a Daughter , that is now sixteen years old : Her Nurse had an extraordinary thicknes of hearing , at a year old , the Child spoke all those little words that Children begin usually to learn at that age , but she made no progress ; yet this was not observed , till it was too late , and as she grew to be two years old , they perceived there that she had lost her hearing , and was so deaf that ever since tho she hears great noises , yet she hears nothing that one can speak to her. It seems while the milk of her Nurse , was more abundant , and that the Child sucked more moderately the first year , those humors in the blood and milk had not that effect on her , that appeared after she came to suck more violently : and that her Nurses milk being in less quantity , was thicker , and more charged with that vapour that occasioned the deafness . But this Child hath by observing the motions of the mouths and lips of others , acquired so many words that out of these she hath formed a sort of jargon in when she can hold conversation whole days with those that can speak her own a language. I could understand some of her words , but could not comprehend a period , for it seemed to be a confused noise : She knows nothing that is said to her unless she seeth the motion of their mouths that speak to her ; so that in the night , when it is necessary to speak to her , they must light a candle : Only one thing

thing appeared the strangest part of the whole narration : She hath a Sister with whom she has practised her language more then with any other : and in the night by laying her hand on her Sisters mouth , she can perceive by that, what shee saies , and so can discourse with her in the night. It is true her Mother told me that this did not go far , and that she found out only some short period in this manner , but it did not hold out very long : thus this young Woman without any pains taken on her, hath meerly by a natural sagacity found out a method of holding discourse, that doth in a great measure lessen the misery of her deafness. I examined this matter critically, but only the Sister was not present, so that I could not see how the conversation past between them in the dark.

But before I give over writting concerning this place, I cannot hinder my self , from giving you an account of a conversation that I had with one of the most Celebrated persons that lives in it. I was talking concerning the credit that the Order of the Jesuites had every where; It was said that all the World mistrusted them, and yet by a strange sort of contradiction all the World trusted them, and tho it was well known that every Jesuite was truer to the Interests of his Order then he could be to the Interests of any Prince whats oever, yet those Princes that would be very carefull not to suffer spies to come into their Courts or into their Councils suffered those spies to come into their breasts and Consciences :  
and



and tho Princes were not generally very tender in those parts, yet as they had oft as much guilt so they had sometimes as much fear as other people, which a dextrous spy knew well how to manage. Upon which that person that pretended to be a zealous Catholick added, that for their part they considered only the Character that the Church gave to a Priest; and if the Church qualified him to doe the functions of a Priest, they thought it very needlesse to enquire after other persons all qualities, which were but common things, whereas the other was all divine. On the Contrary they thought it was so much the better to have to doe with a poor Ignorant Priest: for then they had to doe only with the Church and not with the man. Pursuant to this that persons Confessor was the greatest and the most notorious blockhead that could be found, and when they were asked why they made use of so weak a man, they answered because they could not find a weaker: and when ever they found one better qualified that way, if it were a groom or a footman that got into Priests Orders, they would certainly make use of him. For they would ask counsel of a friend; but they knew no other use of a Confessor, but to confesse to him and to receive absolution from him: and in so doing they pretended they acted as became a true Catholick, that considered only the power of the Church in the Priest, without regarding any thing else.

So far have I entertained you with the  
short

short ramble that I made , which was too short to deserve the name of travelling , and therefore the inquiries or observations that I could make , must be received with the abatement that ought to be made for so short a stay : and all will be of a peece , when the remarks are as slight , as the abode I made in the places through which I past was short. I have avoided the troubling you with things that are commonly known , so if I have not entertained you with a long recital of ordinary matters , yet I have told ~~upon~~ nothing but what I saw and knew to be true , or that had from such hands , that I have very good reason to believe it : and I fancy that the things which made the greatest impression on my self , will be acceptably received by you , to whom , as upon many accounts , I owe all the expressions of esteem and gratitude that I can ever pay ; so I had a more particular reason that determined me to give you , so full an account of all I saw and observed : for as you were pleased at parting to do me the Honour to desire me to communicate to you such things as appeared most remarkable to me , so I found such a vast advantage in many places , but more particularly at Venice , Rome and Naples , by the happiness I have of being known to you , and of being so far considered by you , that I could give a copious account both of your person and Studies , to those in whom your curious discoveries had kindled that  
 esteem



esteem for you ; which all the World paieth both to you and to your immortal inquiries into nature , which are among the peculiar blessings of this Age : and that are read with no less care and pleasure in Italy then in England. This was so well received, that I found the great advantage of this Honour I did myself in assuming the glorious Title of one of your friends , and I owe a great part of that distinction which I met with, to this favourable character that I gave myself ; so that if I made any progress in the inquiries that so short a stay could enable one to make , I owe it in so a peculiar a manner to you , that this return that I make is but a very small part of that I owe you , and which I will be endeavouring to pay you to the last moment of my life.

THE

# THE FOURTH LETTER.

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*From Nimmegen, the 20. of May 1686.*

S I R,

I thought I had made so full a point at the conclusion of my last Letter, that I should not have given you the trouble of reading any more Letters of the volume of the former: But new Scenes and new matter offering themselves to me, I fancy you will be very gentle to me, if I ingage you again to two or three Hours reading. From Civita Vecchia I came to Marseilles, where if there were a Road as Safe as the Harbour is covered; and if the Harbour were as large as it is convenient, it were certainly one of the most important places in the World; all is so well defended, that it is with respect either to Storms or Enemies the securest Port that can be seen any where. The Freedoms of this place, tho it is now at the mercy of the Citadel, are such, and its scituation draweth so much Trade to it, that there one seeth

*I wish the Author had told us of <sup>another</sup> the priviledges it has beyond other trading towns in France.*



another appearance of wealth then I found in any Town of France, and there is a new street lately built there, that for the beauty of the buildings, and the largeness of the street, is the Noblest I ever saw. There is in that Port a perpetual heat, and the Sun was so strong in the Christmas week, that I was often driven off the Key. I made a Tour from thence through Provence, Languedoc, and Dauphine. I will offer you no account of Nismes, nor of the Ampitheatre in it, or the Pont du Gar near it; which as they are stupendious things, so they are so copiously described by many, and are so generally known to the English Nation, that if you have never gone that way your self, yet you must needs have received so particular a relation of them from those that have seen them on their way to Montpellier, that I judge it needless to enlarge upon them: Nor will I say any thing of the Soil, the Towns, or any other remarkable things that I found there.

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I have a much stronger inclination to say some what concerning the persecution which I saw in its rage and utmost fury; and of which I could give you many instances that are so much beyond all the common measures of barbarity and cruelty, that I confess they ought not to be beleevcd, unless I could give more positive proofs of them, then are sitting now to be brought forth: and the particulars that I could tell you are such, that if I should relate them with the necessary circumstances of time,

time, place, and persons, these might be so fatal to many that are yet in the power of their Enemies, that my regard to them restrains me. In short I do not think that in any Age there ever was such a violation of all that is sacred, either with relation to God or Man: And what I saw and knew there from the first hand, hath so confirmed all the Idea's that I had taken from Books of the cruelty of that Religion, that I hope the impression that this hath made upon me shall never end but with my life: The applauses that the whole Clergy give to this way of proceeding, the many Panegiricks that are already writ upon it, of which, besides the more pompous ones that appear at Paris, there are numbers writ by smaller Authors in every Town of any note there; and the Sermons that are all flights of flattery upon this subject, are such evident demonstrations of their sense of this matter; that what is now on foot may be well termed the Act of the whole Clergy of France, which yet hath been hitherto esteemed the most moderate part of the Roman Communion. If any are more moderate than others; and have not so far laid off the human nature as ~~to~~ to go in entirely into those bloody practises, yet they dare not own it, but whisper it in secret as if it were half Treason: but for the greater part, they do not only magnifie all that is done, but they animate even the Dragoons to higher degrees of rage: and there was such a heat spread over all the Country,

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on this occasion ; that one could not go into any Ordinary , or mixe in any promiscuous conversation , without finding such effects of it , that it was not easie for such as were toucht with the least degree of compassion for the miseries that the poor Protestants suffered , to be a witness to the Insultings that they must meet with in all places. Some perhaps imagine that this hath not been approved in Italy , and it is true there were not any publick rejoicings upon it at Rome ; no Indulgences nor Te Deums were heard of : And the Spanish faction being so prevalent there , it is not strange if a course of proceedings , that is without an exemple , was set forth , by all that were of that interest , in its proper colours ; of which I met with some instances my self , and could not but smile to see some of the Spanish Faction so farre to forget their Courts of Inquisition as to argne against the Conversions by the Dragoons , as a reproach to the Catholick Religion. Yet the Pope was of another mind , for the Duke d'Estrées gave him an account of the Kings proceedings in this matter very copiously , as he himself related it. Upon which the Pope approved all , and expressed a great satisfaction in every thing that the King had done in that matter ; and the Pope added that he found some Cardinals [ as I remember the Duke d'Estrees said two ] were not pleased with it , and had taken the liberty to censure it , but the Pope said , they were to blame : The Duke d'Estrées did not name the two Cardi-

dinals, tho he said he beleevd he knew who they were: and it is very like that Cardinal Pio was one, for I was told that he spoke freely enough of this matter. I must take the liberty to add one thing to you, that I do not see that the French King is to be so much blamed in this matter as his Religion is; which, without question, obligeth him to extirpate Hereticks, and not to keep his faith to them: so that instead of censuring him, I must only lament his being bred up in a Religion that doth certainly oblige him to develt himself of humanity, and to violate his faith, whensoever the cause of his Church and Religion requireth it: Or if there is any thing in this conduct that cannot be entirely justified from the principles of that Religion, it is this, that he doth not put the Hereticks to death out of hand, but that he forceth them, by all the extremities possible, to sign an abjuration, that all the World must needs see is done against their Consciences: and this being the only end of their miseries; those that would think any sort of death a happy conclusion of their sufferings, seeing no prospect of such a glorious issue out of their trouble, are prevailed on by the many lingring deaths of which they see no end, to make Shipwrack of the faith: This appearance of mercy in not putting men to death, doth truly verifie the character that Solomon giveth of the tender mercies of the wicked, that they are cruel.


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But I will stop here, tho it is not easie to retire from so copious a subject, that as it affordeth so much matter, so upon many accounts raiseth a heat of thought that is not easily governed. I will now lead you to a Scene that giveth less passion.

I past the Winter at Geneva, with more satisfaction that I had thought it was possible for me to have found any where out of England: tho that received great allaies from the most lamentable Stories that we had every day from France: but there is a sorrow by which the heart is made better. I ought to make the most publike acknowledgments possible for the Extraordinary Civilities that I met with in any own particular: but that is too low a Subject to entertain yon with it. That which pleased me most, was of a more publike nature, before I left Geneva, the numbers of the English there was such, that I found we could make a small Congregation. For wee were 12. or 14. so I addressed my selfe to the Councell of 25. for liberty to have our own worship in our own language, according to the English Liturgy. This was Immediately granted in so obliging a manner, that as there was not one person that made any exception to it, so they sent one of their body to me, to let me know that in case our number should grow to be so great, that it wery fit for us to assemble in a Church they would grant us one which had been done in  Maries reigne: but

but till then wee might hold our assemblies as wee thought fit. So after that time, during the rest of my stay there, wee had every sunday our devotions according to the Common praier Morning and Evening: and at the Evening praier. I preacht in a Room that was indeed too large for our small company, but there being a considerable number in Geneva that Understand English and in particular some of the Professors and Ministers wee had a great many strangers that met with us: and the last Sunday I gave the Sacrament according to the way of the Church of England, and upon this occasion I found a generall joy in the toun, for this that I had given them an opportunity of expressing the respect they had for our Church, and as in their publike praiers they alwaies praied for the Churches of Great Brittain, as well as for the King, so in private discourse they shewed all possible esteem for our Constitutions, and they spoke of the unhappy divisions among us, and of the Separation that was made from us, upon the account of our Government and Ceremonies with great regret and dislike. I shall name to yon only two of their Professours that as they are men of great distinction so they were the persons with whom I conversed the most. The one is Mr. Turretin, a man of great learning, that by his Indefatigable Study and labour has much worn out and wasted his strength: amidst all the affluence

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of a great plenty of Fortune to which he was born , one discerns in him all the modesty of a humble and mortified temper , and of an active and fervent charity , proportioned to his abundance or rather beyond it : and there is in him such a melting zeal for Religion , as the present conjuncture calls for, with all the seriousness of piety and devotion which shews it selfe both in private conversation and in his most edifying Sermons by which he enters deep into the consciences of his hearers The other is Mr. Tronchin , a man of a strong head , and of a clear and correct Judgment ; who has all his thoughts well digested : his conversation has an engaging charm in it that cannot be resisted. He is a man of Extraordinary virtue and of a readiness to oblige and serve all persons, that has scarce any measures. His Sermons have a sublimity in them that strikes the hearer as well as it edifies him. His thoughts are noble , and his Eloquence is Masculine and exact , and has all the Majesty of the chair in it tempered with all the softness of persuasion , so that he not only convinces his hearers , but subdues them and triumphs over them. In such Company it was no wonder if time seemed to goe off too fast, so that I left Geneva with a concern that I could not have felt in leaving any place out of the Isle of Brittain.

From Geneva, I went a second time through  
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Switzerland to Basel : at Avanche I saw the Noble fragments of a great Roman work, which seems to have been the Portico to some Temple: the heads of the Pillars ate about four foot square of the Jonick Order : The Temple hath been dedicated to Neptune or some Sea-god ; for on the fragments of the Architrave , which are very beautifull, there are Dolphins and Sea-horses in bas-reliefs; and the neighborhood of the place to the Lakes of Iverdun and Morat maketh this more evident ; there is also a Pillar standing up in its full heigth , or rather the corner of a building , in which one seeth the rests of a regular Architecture in two ranks of Pillars: If the ground near this were carefully seareht, no doubt it would discover more rests of that Fabrick. Not far from this is Morat ; and a little on this side of it is a Chappel, full of the bones of the Burgundians that were killed by the Switzers , when this place was besieged by the famous Charls Duke of Burgundy, who lost a great Army before it, that was entirely cut off by the besieged ; the inscription is very extraordinary, especially for that Age: for the bones being so piled up that the Chappell is quite filled with them : the inscription bears that Charls Duke of Burgundy's Army having besieged Morat , *Hoc sui Monumentum reliquit* , had left that Monument behind it. It cannot but seem strange to one that views Morat to Imagine how it was possible for a Town so scituated, and so



slightly fortified to hold out against so powerfull a Prince and so great an Army that brought Canon before it. I met with nothing remarkable between this and Basil, except that I staid sometime at Bern, and knew it better; and at this second time it was, that My Lord Advoyer d'Erlach gave order to shew me the Original Records of the famous Process of the four Dominicans; upon which I have retoucht the Letter that I writ to you last year, so that I now send it to you with the corrections and enlargements, that this second stay at Bern gave me occasion to make.

Basile is the Town of the greatest extent of all Switzerland, but it is not inhabited in proportion to its extent. The Rhine maketh a crook before it: and the Town is scituated on a rising ground, which hath a noble effect on the eye, when one is on the Bridge, for it looketh like a Theater. Little Basile on the other side of the Rhine, is almost a fourth part of the whole: the Town is surrounded with a VVall and Ditch, but it is so exposed on so many sides, and hath now so dreadfull a neighbour within a quarter of a League of it, the Fort of Huningh, that it hath nothing to trust to, humanly speaking, but its Union with the other Cantons. The maxims of this Canton have hindred its being better peopled then it is, the advantages of the Burgership are such that the Citisens will not share them with strangers, and by this

this means they do not admit them. For I was told that during the last war, that Alsatia was so often the seat of both Armies, Basile having then a neutrality, it might have been well filled, if it had not been for this maxim. And it were a great happiness to all the Cantons, if they could have different degrees of Burgership, so that the lower degrees might be given to strangers for their encouragement to come and live among them: and the higher degrees which qualifie men for the advantagious imploiments of the State, might be reserved for the ancient Families of the Natives. Basile is divided into sixteen Companies, and every one of these hath four Members in the little Council, so that it consisteth of sixty four: But of those four, two are chosen by the Company it self, who are called the Masters, and the other two are chosen by the Council out of the Company; and thus as there are two sorts of Councillers, chosen in those different manners, there are also two chief Magistrates. There are two Burgermasters that Reign by turns, and two Zunft-Masters that have also their turns, and all is for life: and the last are the heads of the Companies, like the Romans Tribuns of the people. The Fabrick of the State-House is ancient: there is very good painting in fresco upon the Walls: one peece hath given much offence to the Papists, tho they have no reason to blame the Reformation for it: since it



was done several years before it, in the year 1510. It is a representation of the Day of Judgement, and after Sentence given, the Devil is represented driving many before him to Hell. and among these there is a Pope, and several Ecclesiasticks. But it is believed that the Council which sat so long in this place, acting so vigorously against the Pope, engaged the Town into such a hatred of the Papacy, that this might give the rise to this representation. The more learned in the Town ascribe the beginning of the custom in Basle of the Clocks anticipating the time a full Hour, to the sitting of the Council, and they say that in order to the advancing of business, and the shortning their Sessions, they ordered their Clocks to be set forward an Hour, which continueth to this day. The Cathedral is a great old Gothick building; the Chamber where the Council sat, is of no great reception, and is a very ordinary Room: Erasmus's Tomb is only a plain Inscription upon a great brass plate: There are many of Holbens's Pictures here. who was a Native of Basle, and was recommended by Erasmus to King Henry the VIII. the two best are a Corpus or Christ dead, which is certainly one of the best Pictures in the World: There is another peece of his in the Stadt-House (for this is in the publick Library) of about three or four foot square; in which, in six several Cantons, the several parts of our Saviours Pas-

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Passion are represented with a life and beauty  
 that cannot be enough admired ; it is valued  
 at ten thousand Crowns ; it is on VVood,  
 but hath that Freshness of colour still on it ,  
 that seems peculiar to Holbens's Pencil. There  
 is also a Dance that he painted on the VValls of  
 an House where he used to drink, that is so worn  
 out that very little is now to be seen , ex-  
 cept shapes and postures : but these shew  
 the exquisiteness of the hand. There is ano-  
 ther longer Dance that runneth all along the  
 side of the Convent of the Augustinians ,  
 which is now the French Church, which is  
 Deaths Dance ; there are above threescore  
 figures in it at full length of persons of all  
 ranks , from Popes , Emperors and Kings,  
 down to the meanest sorts of people , and of  
 all ages and professions , to whom Death  
 appeareth in an insolent and surprizing postu-  
 re , and the several passions that they express  
 are so well set out, that this was certainly a  
 great design. But the fresco being exposed  
 to the Air , this was so worn out some time  
 agoe , that they ordered the best Painter  
 they had to lay new colour on it , but this  
 is so ill done that one had rather see the dead  
 shadows of Holbens's Pencil , then this cour-  
 se work. There is in Basile a Gun-Smith  
 that maketh VVind-Guns , and he shewed  
 me one that as it received at once Air fortien  
 shot , so it had this peculiar to it , which  
 he pretends is his own Invention , that he  
 can discharge all the Air that can be parcel-  
 led out in ten shot at once , to give a home  
 blow



blow. I confess those are terrible instruments,  
 and it seems the interest of mankind to forbid  
 them quite, since they can be imploied to  
 assassinate persons so dextrously, that neither  
 noise nor fire will discover from what hand the  
 shot cometh. The Library of Basile is, by  
 much the best in all Switzerland, there  
 is a fine collection of Meddals in it, and a  
 very handsome Library of Manuscripts; the  
 Room is Noble, and disposed in a very good  
 method. Their Manuscripts are chiefly the  
 Latine Fathers, or Latine Translations of  
 the Greek Fathers, some good Bibles, they have  
 the Gospels in Greek Capitals, but they are vi-  
 tiously writ in many places: there is an in-  
 finite number of the writers of the darker  
 Ages, and there are Legends and Sermons  
 without number. All the Books that were  
 in the several Monasteries at the time of the  
 Reformation were carefully preserved; and  
 they beleeve that the Bishops who sate here  
 in the Councel, brought with them a great  
 many Manuscripts which they never carried  
 away. Among their Manuscripts I saw four  
 of Hufs's Letters that he writ to the Bohe-  
 mians the day before his death, which are  
 very devout, but excessively simple. The  
 Manuscripts of this Library are far more nu-  
 merous then those of Bern, which were ga-  
 thered by Bongarsius, and left by him to  
 the publick Library there: they are indeed  
 very little considered there, and are the  
 worst kept that ever I saw: But it is a No-  
 ble collection of all the ancient Latine Au-  
 thors,

thors ; they have some few of the best of the Roman times, writ in great Characters , and there are many that are seven or eight hundred years old. There is in Basile one of the best collections of Medals that ever I saw in private hands ; together with a Noble Library , in which there are Manuscripts of good antiquity that belongs to the Family of Fesch , and that goeth from one learned man of the Family to another : for this Inheritance can only pass to a man of Learning , and when the Family produceth none ; then it is to go to the publick. In Basile as the several Companies have been more or less strict in admitting some to a Freedom in the Company , that have not been of the Trade , so they retain their priviledges to this day. For in such Companies that have once received such a number that have not been of the Trade as grew to be the majority , the Trade hath never been able to recover their interest. But some Companies have been more cautions , and have never admitted any but those that were of the Trade , so that they retain their interest still in Government. Of these the Butchers were named for one , so that there are alwaies four Butchers in the Council: The great Council consisteth of two hundred and forty , but they have no power left them , and they are only assembled upon some extraordinary occasions , when the little Council thinketh fit to communicate any important matter to them. There are but six Baliages that belong to Bazile which  
are



are not imploiments of great advantage; for the best of them doth afford to the Bailif only a thousand livres a year: They reckon that there are in Basile three thousand men that can bear Arms, and that they could raise four thousand more out of the Canton, so that the Town is almost the half of this State, and the whole maketh thirty Parishes. There are eighteen Professors in this University; and there is a Spirit of a more free and generous Learning stirring there, then I saw in all those parts. There is a great decency of habit in Bazile and the garb both of the Councillers, Ministers and Professors, their stiff Ruffs, and their long Beards, have an Air that is August: The appointments are but small, for Councillers, Ministers and Professors have but a hundred Crowns a peece: It is true many Ministers are Professors so this mendeth the matter a little: But perhaps it would go better with the State of Learning there, if they had but half the number of Professors, and if those were a little better encouraged. No where is the rule of St. Paul [ of Womens having on their heads the badge of the authority under which they are brought, which by a phrase that is not extraordinary, he calleth power ] better observed then at Bazile; for all the married VVomen go to Church with a coif on their heads, that is so folded, that as it cometh down so far as to cover their eyes, so another folding covereth also their mouth and Chin, so that

no-

nothing but the nose appears ; and then all turns backward in a folding that hangeth down to their midleg. This is alwaies white , so that there is there such a sight of white heads in their Churches as cannot be found any where else : The unmarried VWomen wear hats turned up in the brims before and behind : and the brims of the sides being about a foot broad , stand out far on both hands : This fashion is also at Strasburg , and is worn there also by the married women.

I mentioned formerly the constant danger to which this place is exposed from the neighborhood of Huningh , I was told that at first it was pretended that the French King intended to build only a small Fort there , and it was beleevd that one of the Burgo-masters of Bazile , who was thought not only the wisest man of that Canton , but of all Switzerland , was gained to lay all men asleep, and to assure them that the suffering this Fort to be built so near them , was of no importance to them , but now they see too late their fatal error : For the place is great , and will hold a Garnison of three or four thousand , men ; it is a Pentagone , only the side to the Rhine is so large , that if it went round on that side , I beleeve it must have been a Hexagone ; the Bastions have all Orillons , and in the middle of them there is a void space , not filled up with earth , where there is a Magazine built so thick in the Vault that it is proof against Bombs ; The Remparts  
are



are strongly faced, there is a large Ditch, and before the Cortine, in the middle of the Ditch, there runs all along a Horn-work which is but ten or twelve foot high; and from the bottom of the Rampart, there goeth a Vault to this Horn-work, that is for conveying of men for its defence: before this Horn-work there is a half Moon, with this that is peculiar to those new Fortifications, that there is a Ditch that cuts the half Moon in an Angle, and maketh one half Moon within another: beyond that there is a Counter-Scarp about twelve foot high above the Water, with a covered way, and a glacé designed, tho not executed. There is also a great Horn-work besides all this, which runs out a huge way with its out-works towards Bazile; there is also a Bridge laid over the Rhine, and there being an Island in the River, where the Bridge is laid, there is a Horn-work that filleth and fortieth it. The Buildings in this Fort are beautiful, and the Square can hold above four thousand men; the works are not yet quite finished, but when all is compleated, this will be one of the strongest places in Europe: There is a Cavalier on one or two of the Bastions, and there are half Moons before the Bastions, so that the Switzers see their danger now, when it is not easie to redress it. This place is scituated in a great Plain, so that it is commanded by no rising ground on any side of it. I made a little tour into Alsace, as far as Mountbelliard; the Soil is extream rich, but it hath  
been

been so long a Frontier Country; and is, by consequence, so ill peopled, that it is in many places over-grown with Woods: In one respect it is fit to be the seat of War, for it is full of Iron-works which bring a great deal of money into the Country. I saw nothing peculiar in the Iron-works there (except that the sides of the great Bellows were not of Leather but of wood, which saves much money) so I will not stand to describe them. The River of the Rhine, all from Bazile to Spire, is so low, and is on both sides so covered with woods, that one that cometh down in a Boat hath no sight of the Country: The River runneth sometimes with such a force, that nothing but such woods could preserve its Banks, and even these are not able to save them quite, for the Trees are often washed away by the very Roots, so that in many places those Trees ly along in the Channel of the River: It hath been also thought a sort of a Fortification to both sides of the River, to have it thus faced with Woods, which maketh the passing of men dangerous, when they must march for sometime after their passage through a *defilé*. The first night from Bazil we came to *Brisac*, which is poor and miserable Town, but it is a noble Fortification, and hath on the West-side of the River, over which a Bridge is laid, a regular Fort of four or five Bastions. The Town of *Brisac*, riseth all on a Hill which is a considerable heighth; there were near it two Hills, the one is taken within the Fortification, and the other



ther is so well levelled with the ground ; that one cannot so much as find out where it was ; All the ground about for many miles is plain , so that from the Hill , as from a Cavalier , one can see exactly well , especially with the help of a Prospect , all the motions of an Enemy in case of a Siege : The Fortification is of a huge compass , above a French league , indeed almost a German league ; the Bastions are quite filled with Earth , they are faced with brick , and have a huge broad Ditch full of Water around them , the Counterscarp , the covered way , which hath a palisade within the Parapet , and the Glacy , are all well executed ; there is a half Moon before every Cortine : the Bastions have no Orillons except one or two , and the Cortines are so disposed that a good part of them defendeth the Bastion. The Garrison of this place in time of War must needs be eight or ten thousand men ; there hath not been much done of late to this place only the Ditch is so adjusted that it is all defended by the flanks of the Bastions. But the noblest place on the Rhine is Strasburg : it is a Town of a huge extent , and hath a double Wall and Ditch all round it : the inner Wall is old and of no strength , nor is the outward Wall very good , it hath a faussebraye , and is faced with Brick twelve or fifteen foot above the Ditch : the Counterscarp is in an ill condition , so that the Town was not in case to make any long resistance ; but it is now strongly fortified. There is a Cittadel built on that side that goeth towards

wards the Rhine, that is much such a Fort as that of Huningh, and on the side of the Cittadel towards the Bridge, there is a great Horn-work that runs out a great way with out-works belonging to it; there are also small Forts at the two chief gates that lead to Alsace; by which the City is so bridled that these can cut off all its communication with the Country about, in case of a revolt: the Bridge is also well fortified: there are also Forts in some Islands in the Rhine, and some Redoubts: so that all round this place, there is one of the greatest Fortifications that is in Europe.

Hitherto the Capitulation with relation to Religion hath been well kept, and there is so a small a number of new Converts, and these are for the greatest part so inconsiderable, they not being in all above two hundred as I was told, that if they do not imploy the new fashioned Missionaries *a la Dragonné*, the old ones are not like to have so great a harvest there as they promised themselves, tho they are Jesuites. The Lutherans for the greatest part retain their ammosities almost to an equal degree both against Papiests and Calvinists. I was in their Church, where if the Musick of their Psalms pleased me much, the irreverence in singing, it being free to keep on or put off the Hat, did appear very strange to me: The Churches are full of Pictures, in which the chief passages of our Saviours life are represented: but there is no sort of religious respect paid them, they bow when they name the Holy Ghost, as well as at the name of Jesus:



sus : but they have not the Ceremonies that  
 the Lutherans of Saxony use, which *Mr. Be-*  
*bel*, their Professor of Divinity, said was a great  
 happiness, for a similitude in outward rites  
 might dispose the ignorant people to change  
 too easily. I found several good people both  
 of the Lutheran Ministers and others, ac-  
 knowledge that there was such a corruption  
 of morals spread over the whole City, that as  
 they had justly drawn down on their heads the  
 plague of the loss of their liberty, so this ha-  
 ving toucht them so little they had reason to  
 look for severer strokes : One seeth, in the  
ruine of this City, what a mischivous thing the  
 popular pride of a free City is : they fancied  
 they were able to defend themselves, and so  
 they refused to let an Imperial Garrison come  
 within their Town: for if they had received  
 only five hundred men, as that small num-  
 ber would not have been able to have oppressd  
 their Liberties, so it would have so secured the  
 Town that the French could not have besie-  
 ged it, without making War on the Empire:  
 but the Town thought this was a diminution  
 of their Freedom, and so chose rather to pay  
 a Garrison of three thousand Souldiers, which  
 as it exhausted their Revenne, and brought  
 them under great Taxes, so it proved too weak  
 for their defence when the French Army ca-  
 me before them. The Town begins to sink  
 in its Trade, notwithstanding the great cir-  
 culation of money that the expence of the  
 Fortifications hath brought to it : but when  
 that is at an end, it will sink more sensibly, for  
 it

it is impossible for a place of trade, that is to have alwaies eight or ten thousand Souldiers in it, to continue long in a Flourishing State. There was a great animosity between two of the chief Families of the Town, Dietrick and Obrecht, the former was the Burgomaster, and was once almost run down by a Faction that the other had raised against him: but he turned the tide, and got such an advantage against Obrecht, who had writ somewhat against the conduct of their affairs, that he was condemned and beheaded for writing libels against the Government. His son is a learned man, and was Professer of the Civil Law: and he to have his turn of revenge against Dietrick, went to Paris last Summer, and that he might make his Court the better, changed his Religion. Dietrick had been alwaies looked on as one of the chief of the French Faction, tho he had been at first an Imperialist, so it was thought that he should have been well rewarded; yet it was expected that to make himself capable of that, he should have changed his Religion, but he was an ancient man, and would not purchase his Court at that rate: so without any reason given, and against the expresse words of the Capitulation, he was confined to one of the midland Provinces of France, as I remember it was Limosin; and thus he that hath been thought the chief cause of this Towns falling under the power of the French, is the first man that hath felt the effects of it. The Library here is considerable, The Case is a



great Room very well contrived, for it is divided into Closets all over the body of the Room, which runs about these as a Gallery, and in these Closets all round there are the Books of the several Professions lodged a part: there is one for Manuscripts in which there are some of considerable Antiquity. I need say nothing to you of the vast height, and the Gothick Architecture of the Steeple and of the great Church, nor of the curious Clock where there is so vast a variety of motions, for these are well known. The bas reliefs upon the tops of the great Pillars of the Church are not so visible, but they are surprizing; for this being a Fabrick of three or four hundred years old, it is very strange to see such representations as are there. There is a Procession represented, in which a Hog carrieth the Pot with the Holy Water, and Asses and Hogs in Priestly Vestments follow to make up the Procession; there is also an Als standing before an Altar, as if he were going to Consecrate, and one carrieth a Case with Reliques, within which one seeth a Fox, and the trains of all that go in this Procession, are carried up by Monkeys. This seems to have been made in hatred of the Monks whom the Secular Clergy abhorred at that time, because they had drawn the Wealth, and the following of the World after them, and they had exposed the Secular Clergy so much for their ignorance, that it is probable after some Ages, the Monks falling under the same contempt,

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N.B.

At Strasburg

N.B.

the Secular Clergy took their turn in exposing them in so lasting a representation to the scorn of the World. There is also in the Pulpit a Nun cut in Wood, lying allong, and a Frier lying near her with his Breviary open before him, and his hand under the Nuns habit, and the Nuns feet are shod with iron shoes. I confess I did not look for these things, for I had not heard of them; but my Noble Friend Mr. Ablancourt viewed them with great exactness, while he was the French Kings Resident at Strasburg, in the company of one of the Magistrates that waited on him; and it is upon his credit, to which all that know his eminent sincerity, know how much is due, that I give you this particular. } n.b.

From Strasburg we went down the Rhine to Philipsburg, which lieth at a quarter of a miles distance from the River, it is but a small place, the Bastions are but little: there is a Ravelline before almost all the Cortines, and there ly such Marishes all round it, that in these lieth the chief strength of the place. The French had begun a great Crown-work on the side that lieth to the Rhine, and had cast out a Horn-work beyond that; but by all that appears it seems they intended to continue that Crown work quite round the Town, and to make a second Wall and Ditch all round it; which would have enlarged the place vastly, and made a compass capable enough to lodge above ten thousand men: and this would have

S iij been



been so terrible a neighbor to the Palatinate and all Franconia that it was a Master-peece in Charles Lewis, the late Elector Palatine, to ingage the Empire into this Siege. He saw well how much it concerned him to have it out of the hands of the French, so that he took great care to have the Duke of Lorraine's Camp so well supplied with all things necessary during the Siege, that the Army lay not under the least uneasiness all the while. From thence in three Hours time we came to Spire, which is so naked a Town that if it were attacked, it could not make the least resistance. The Town is neither great nor rich, and subsisteth chiefly by the Imperial Chamber that sitteth here, tho there is a constant dispute between the Town and the Chamber concerning Priviledges; for the Government of the Town, pretends that the Judges of the Chamber, as they are private men, and out of the Court of Judicature, are subject to them; and so about a year ago they put one of the Judges in Prison: on the other hand the Judges pretend that their persons are sacred. It was the consideration of the Chamber that procured to the Town the neutrality that they enjoined all the last War. I thought to have seen the forms of this Court, and the way of laying up, and preserving their Records, but the Court was not then sitting. The Building, the Halls and Chambers of this famous Court are mean beyond imagination, and look liker the Halls of some small Com-

pany; then of so great a body; and I could not see the places where they lay up their Archives: The Government of the City is all Lutheran, but not only the Cathedral is in the hands of the Bishop and Chapter, but there are likewise several Convents of both Sexes, and the Jesuites have also a Colledge there. There is little remarkable in the Cathedral, which is a huge building in the Gothick manner of the worst sort. The Tombs of many Emperours that lie buried there, are remarkable for their meanness; they being only great Flag-stones laied on some small Stone ballisters of a foot and a half high: There are also the marks of a ridiculous Fable concerning St. Bernard, which is too foolish to be related, yet since they have taken such pains to preserve the remembrance of it, I shall venture to write it. There are from the Gate all along the Nef of the Church up to the Steps that go up to the Quire, four round plates of Brass, above a foot Diameter, and at the distance of thirty foot one from another; laid in the pavement, on the first of these is ingraven: *O Clemens*; on the second, *O Pia*; on the third, *O Felix*; and on the fourth, *Maria*: The last is about thirty foot distant from a Statue of the Virgins: so they say that St. Bernard came up the whole length of the Church at four steps, and that those four plates were laid where he stept: and that at every step he pronounced the word that is ingraven on the Plate, and when

S. iiij      he



he came to the last , the Image of the Virgin answered him. *Salve Bernarde* : upon which he answered , *let a Woman keep silence in the Church* , and that the Virgins Statue has kept silence ever since , this last part of the Story is certainly very credible. He was a man of Learning that shewed me this ; and he repeated it so gravely to me , that I saw he either beleev'd it , or at least that he had a mind to make me beleieve it : and I asked him as gravely if that was firmly beleev'd there , he told me that one had lately writ a Book to prove the truth of it , as I remember , it was a Jesuit : he acknowledged it was not an Article of Faith , so I was satisfied. There is in the Cloister an old Gothick representation of our Saviors agony in stone , with a great many Figures of his Apostles , and the Company that came to seize him , that is not ill Sculpture , for the Age in which it was made , it being some Ages old. The Calvinists have a Church in this Town , but their numbers are not considerable : I was told there were some ancient Manuscripts in the Library , that belongeth to the Cathedral : but one of the Prebendaries to whom I address'd myself , being , according to the German custom , a man of greater quality then learning , told me he heard they had some ancient Manuscripts , but he knew nothing of it , and the Dean was absent , so I could not see them , for he kept one of the keys. The lower Palatinate is certainly one of the sweetest Countries of all

all Germany : It is a great Plain till one cometh to the Hills of Heidelberg : the Town is ill scituated , just in a bottom between two ranges of Hills , yet the Air is much commended : I need say nothing of the Castle , nor the prodigious Wine Cellar , in which , tho there is but one celebrated Tun that is seventeen foot high , and twenty six foot long , and is built with a strength liker that of the ribs of a ship , then the Staves of a Tun ; yet there are many other Tuns of such a prodigious bigness , that they would seem very extraordinary if this vast one did not Eclipse them. The late Prince Charls Lewis shewed his capacity in the peopling and settling this State , that had been so intirely ruined , being for many years the Seat of War , for in four years time he brought it to a Flourishing condition : He raised the Taxes as high as was possible without dispeopling his Country , all mens Estates were valued , and they were taxed at five percent , of the value of their Estates ; but their Estates were not valued to the rigour , but with such abatements as have been ordinary in England in the times of Subsidies ; so that when his Son offered to bring the Taxes down to two per cent of the real value ; the Subjects all desired him rather to continue them as they were. There is no Prince in Germany that is more absolute then the Elector Palatine ; for he laith on his Subjects , what Taxes he please , without being limited to any forms of Government. And here

p. 289.

NB

NB



here I saw that which I had alwaies beleev'd  
 to be true, that the Subjects of Germany  
 are only bound to their particular Prince,  
 for they swear Allegiance simply to the Ele-  
 ctor without any reserve for the Emperor,  
 and in their prayers for him they name him  
 their Sovereign. It is true the Prince is under  
 some ties to the Emperour, but the Subjects  
 are under none. And by this D. Fabritius  
 a learned and judicious Professor there, ex-  
 plained those words of Pareus's Commentary  
 on the Romans, which had respect only to  
 the Princes of the Empire: and were quite  
 misunderstood by those who fancied that they  
 favoured Rebellion; for there is no place  
 in Europe where all rebellious Doctrine is  
 more born down then there. I found a great  
 spirit of moderation (with relation to those small  
 controversies that have occasioned such heat  
 in the Protestant Churches) reigning in the  
 University there, which is in a great mea-  
 sure owing to the prudence, the learning,  
 and the happy temper of mind of D. Fabri-  
 tius, and D. Miek; who as they were long  
 in England, so they have that generous lar-  
 geness of Soul, which is the Noble Orna-  
 ment of many of the English Divines. Prince  
 Charls Lewis saw that Manheim was marked  
 out by Nature to be the most important place  
 of all his Territory, it being scituated in the  
 point where the Neckar falleth into the Rhine:  
 so that those two Rivers defending it on two  
 sides, it was capable of a good Fortification:  
 It is true the Air is not thought wholesome;  
 and

N.B.

n.b.

Manheim

and the Water is not good ; yet he made a fine Town there , and a Noble Cittadel with a regular Fortification about it , and he designed a great Palace there , but he did not live to build it. He saw of what advantage liberty of Conscience was to the peopling of his Country , so as he suffered the Jews to come and settle there , he resolved also not only to suffer the three Religions tolerated by the Laws of the Empire to be professed there , but he built a Church for them all three , which he called the Church of the Concord, in which both Calvinists , Lutherans and Papists had , in the order in which I have set them down , the exercise of their Religion , and he maintained the peace of his Principality so intirely , that there was not the least disorder occasioned by this tolleration : This indeed made him to be lookt on as a Prince that did not much consider Religion himselfe : He had a wonderfull application to all affairs , and was not only his own chief Minister , but he alone did the work of many.

But I were Injust if I should not say somewhat to you of the Princely vertues and the Celebrated probity of the present Pr. Elector upon whom that Dignity is devolved by the extinction of so many Princes that in this Age composed the most numerous Family of any of that rank in Europe. This Prince as he is in many respects an honour to the Religion that he professes , so is in nothing more to be commended by those who differ from him , then for his exact adhering to the promises



mises he made his subjects with relation to  
 their Religion . in which he has not even in  
 the smallest matters , broke in upon their  
 establisht lawes , and tho an Order of men ,  
 that have turned the world up side doune ,  
 have great credit with him , yet it is hitherto  
 visible that they cannot carry it so farre , as  
 to make him doe any thing contrary to the  
 establisht Religion ; and ~~to~~ those sacred  
 promises that he made his subjects. For he  
 makes it appear to all the world that he does  
 not consider those as so many words spoken at  
 first to lay his people asleep which he may  
 now explain and observe as he thinks fit; but  
 as so many ties upon his Conscience and ho-  
 nour , which he will Religiously observe. And  
 as in the other parts of ~~this~~ his life he has set a  
 Noble Pattern to all the Princes of Europe  
 so his exactnes to his promises , is that  
 which cannot be too much commended :  
 of which this extraordinary Instance has been  
 communicated to me since I am come into  
 this Countrey. The Elector had a procession  
 in his Court last Corpus Christi day , upon  
 which one of the Ministers of Heidelberg  
 preacht a very severe Sermon against Popery  
 and in particular taxed that procession perhaps  
 with greater plainnesse then discretion: This  
 being brought to the Electors ears he sent  
 presently an order to the Ecclesiasticall Senate  
 to suspend him. That Court is composed of  
 some Secular men and some Churchmen and  
 { as the Princes authority is diledgated to them  
 so they have a sort of an Episcopall jurisdic-  
 ction

ction over all the Clergy. This order was a surprise to them as being a direct breach upon their lawes and the liberty of their Religion; so they sent a Deputation to Court, to let the Elector know the reasons that hindred them from obeying his ordens, which were heard with so much justice and gentlenes that their Prince instead of expresting any displeasure against them, recalled the order that he had sent them.

The way from Heidelberg to Frankfort, is, for the first twelve or fifteen miles, the beautifullest piece of ground that can be imagined; for wee went under a ridge of little Hills that are all covered with Vines, and from them, as far as the eye can go, there is a beautifull Plain of Corn-fields and Meadows, all sweetly divided and inclosed with rows of Trees, so that I fancied I was in Lombardy again, but with this advantage that here all was not of a peece, as it is Lombardy: but the Hills as they made a pleasant inequality in the prospect, so they made the Air pure, and produced a pleasant Wine: The way near Darmstat, and all forwards to Frankfort, becometh more wild and more sandy: There is a good Suburb on the South-side of the Main over against Frankfort, which hath a very considerable Fortification; there is a double Wall, and a double Ditch that goeth round it, and the outward Wall, as it is regularly fortified, so it is faced with Brick to a considerable heighth. The Town of Frankfort is of a great extent, and seemed to be but about a third part less then Strasburg:  
The



The three Religions are also tolerated there; and tho the number of the Papists is very inconsiderable, yet they have the great Church, which is a huge rude building; they have also several other Churches, and some Convents there. There are several open squares for Market places, and the Houses about them look very well without. Among their Archives they preserve the Original of the *Bulla Aurea*, which is only a great Parchment writ in High Dutch, without any beauty answering to its Title: and since I, could not have understood it, I was not at the pains of desiring to see it, for that is not obtained without difficulty. The Lutherans have here built a new Church, called St. Katherins, in which there is as much painting as ever I saw in any Popish Church, and over the high Altar there is an huge carved Crucifix, as there are painted ones in other places of their Church: The Pulpit is extream fine of Marble of different colours very well polished and joined. I was here at Sermon where I understood nothing, but I liked one thing that I saw both at Strasburg and here, that at the end of Praiers, there was a considerable interval of silence left, before the conclusion, for all peoples private devotions. In the House of their publick Disciplin, they retain still the old Roman Pistrina or Hand-mill, at which lewd Women are condemned to grind, that is, to drive about the Wheel that maketh the Millstones go. There is a great number of Jews there, X  
tho

tho their two Synagogues are very little, and by consequence the numbers being great, they are very nasty. I was told they were in all above twelve hundred. The Women had the most of a tawdry Imbroiderie of Gold and Silver about them that ever I saw, for they had all Mantles of Crape, and both about the top and the bottom, there was a border above a hand breadth of imbroidery. The Fortification of Frankfort is considerable, their Ditch is very broad, and very full of Water; all the Bastions have a Counter-mine that runneth along by the brim of the Ditch; but the Counterscarp is not faced with Brick as the Walls are, and so in many places it is in an ill condition; the covered way and glacy are also in an ill case: The Town is rich, and driveth a great Trade, and is very pleasantly scituated. Not far from hence is Hockam that yeeldeth the best Vine of those parts. Since I took Frankfort in my way from Heidelberg to Mentz, I could not passe by VVorms, for which I was sorry. I had a great mind to see that place, where Luther made his first appearance before the Emperour, and the Diet, and in that solemne audience expressed an undaunted zeal for that glorious cause in which God made him such a blessed Instrument. I had another piece of curiosity on me which will perhaps appear to you somewhat ridiculous. I had a mind to see a picture that as I was told is over one of the Popish Altars there, which one would think was Invented by the Enemies of

Tran-



Transubstantion to make it appear ridiculous. There is a windmill, and the Virgin throws Christ into the Hopper, and he comes out at the eye of the Milne all in waters, which some Priests take up to give to the people. This is so coarse an Embleme, that one would think it too grosse even for Laplanders but a man that can swallow Transubstantiation it selfe, will digest this likewise. Mentz is very nobly situated, on a rising ground a little below the conjunction of the two Rivers, the Rhine and the Main; it is of too great a compass, and too ill peopled to be capable of a great defence: there is a Cittadel upon the highest part of the Hill that commandeth the Town; it is compassed about with a dry Ditch that is considerably deep. The Walls of the Town are faced with Brick and regularly fortified; but the Counterscarp is not faced with Brick, so all is in a sad condition; and the Fortification is weakest on that side where the Electors Palace is. There is one side of a new Palace very nobly built in a regular Architecture, only the Germans do still retain some what of the Gothick manner. It is of a great length, and the design is to build quite round the Court, and then it will be a very magnificent Palace, only the Stone is red; for all the Quarries that are upon the Rhine, from Bazile down to Coblentz, are of red stone, which doth not look beautiful. The Elector of Mentz is an absolute Prince: his Subjects present Lists of their Magistrates to him, but he is not tied to them

N.B. x  
mentz

them ; and may name whom he will : The Ancient Demeasne of the Electorat is about forty thousand Crowns : but the Taxes rise to about three hundred thousand Crowns ; so that the Subjects here are as heavily taxed as in the Palatinate : There is twelve thousand Crowns a year given the Elector for his privy Purse . and the State bears the rest of his whole expence : It can Arm ten thousand men , and there is a Garrison of two thousand men in Mentz : this Elector hath three Councels , one as he is Chancellour of the Empire , consisting of three persons : the other two are for the Policy and Justice of his Principality. He and his Chapter have months by turns for the nomination of the Prebends. In the month of January he names if any dies , and they chuse in the Room of such as dy in February , and so all the year round. The Prebendaries or Domeheers have about three thousand Crowns a year a peece. VVhen the Elector dieth, the Emperour sendeth one to see the Election made , and he recommendeth one , but the Cannons may chuse whom they please ; and the present Elector was not of the Emperours recommendation. Besides the Palace at Mentz, the Elector hath another near Frankfort , which is thought the best that is in those parts of Germany : The Cathedral is a huge Gothick Building ; there is a great Cupulo in the VVest-end , and there the Quire singeth Mass : I could not learn whether this was done only because the place here was of

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T

a quire at the west end is rare



greater reception then at the East-end, or if any burying place and indowment obliged them to the West-end. Near the Cathedral there is a huge Chappel of great Antiquity, and on the North Door there are two great Brass Gates with a long Inscription, which I had not time to write out, but I found it was in the Emperour Lotharius's time. There are a vast number of Churches in this Town, but it is poor and ill inhabited. The Rhine here is almost half an English mile broad, and there is a Bridge of Boats laied over it. From Mentz all along to Baccharach (which seems to carry its name (*Bacchi Ara*) from some famous Altar that the Romans probably erected by reason of the good wine that grows in the neighbourhood.) There is a great number of very considerable Villages on both sides of the River: Here the Rats Tower is shewed, and the people of the Country do all firmly beleieve the story of the Rats eating up an Elector, and that tho he Fled to this Island where he built a small high Tower, they pursued him still; and swimmied after him, and eat him up: and they told us that there were some of his bones to be seen still in the Tower. This extraordinary death makes me call to mind a very particular and unlooked for sort of death, that carried off a poor Labourer of the ground a few daies before I left Geneva. The foot of one of his Cattel, as he was ploghing, went into a nest of Wasps, upon which the whole swarm came out, and set upon him that held the Plough, and killed him

< The Rhine is 500. paces broad

him in a very little time; and his body was prodigiously swelled with the poison of so many stings. But to return to the Rhine, all the way from Baccharach down to Coblents, there is on both sides of the River hanging grounds, or little Hills, so laid as if many of them had been laid by Art, which produce the rich Rhenish VVine: They are indeed as well exposed to the Sun, and covered from Storms, as can be imagined: and the ground on those Hills, which are in some places of a considerable heighth, is so cultivated that there is not an inch lost that is capable of improvement, and this bringeth so much wealth into the Country, that all along there is a great number of considerable Villages. Coblents is the strongest place that I saw of all that belong to the Empire; the scituation is Noble, the Rhine running before it, and the Moselle passing along the side of the Town; it is well fortified, the Ditch is large; the Counterescarp is high, and the covered way is in a good condition; both VValls and Counterescarp are faced with Brick, and there are Ravelines before the Cortines; but on the side of the Moselle it is very slightly fortified, and there is no Fort at the end of the stone Bridge that is laid over the Moselle, so that it lieth quite open on that side, which seemeth a strange defect in a place of that consequence: But tho the Fortifications of this place are very considerable, yet its chief defence lieth in the Fort of Hermanstan, which is built on the top of a very high Hill, that lieth on the other

Here is  
much  
wealth  
under an  
absolute  
prince.

v. p. 298

v. p. 42

Coblentz



side of the Rhine; and which commandeth this place so absolutely, that he who is Master of Hermanstan, is alwaies Master of Coblentz.

*E. Trier*

< This belongeth to the Elector of Triers, whose Palace lieth on the East-side of the Rhine, just at the foot of the Hill of Hermanstan, and over against the point where the Moselle falleth into the Rhine, so that nothing can be  
< more pleasantly scituated; only the ground begins to rise just at the back of the House with so much steepness that there is not Room for Gardens or Walks. The House maketh a great shew upon the River, but we were told that the Apartments within were not answerable to the outside. I say wee were told for the German Princes keep such forms, that, without a great deal of ado, one cannot come within their Courts, unless it be when they are abroad themselves; so that we neither got within the Palace at Mentz, nor this of Hermanstan. It is but a few Hours from this to

*E. Collen*

Bonne, where the Elector of Collen keepeth his Court; the place hath a regular Fortification, the Walls are faced with Brick; but tho the Ditch, which is dry, is pretty broad, the Counterscarp is in so ill a condition, that it is not able to make a great defence. This Elector is the Noblest born, and the best provided of all the German Clergy, for he is Brother to the great Maximilian Duke of Bavaria; and besides Collen, he hath Liege, Munster, and Hidelsheim, which are all great Bishopricks: He hath been also six and thirty years in the Electorate: His Palace is very mean, consisting

but

*N.B.*

but of one Court, the half of which is cast into a little Garden, and the Wood-yard is in the very Court; the lower part of the Court was a stable: but he hath made an apartment here that is all furnished with Pictures: where, as there are some of the hands of the greatest Masters, so there are a great many foils to set these off, that are scarce good enough for Signposts.

The Elector has a great many gold meddalls > which will give me occasion to tell you one of the Extravagantest pieces of forgery that perhaps ever was; which happned to be found out at the last siege of Bonne: for while they were clearing the ground for planting a battery, they discovered a vault in which there was an iron chest that was full of meddalls of gold to the value of 100000 Crowns: and of which I was told the Elector bought to the value of 30000 Crowns. They are huge big, one weighed 800. Ducats, and the gold was of the finenes of Ducat gold: but tho they bore the Impressions of Roman Meddalls or rather Medaillons they were all Counterfeit; and the imitation was so courselly done that one must be extream Ignorant in Meddalls to be deceived by them. Some few that seemed true were of the late Greek Emperours. Now it is very unaccountable what could induce a man to make a forgery upon such mettle, and in so vast a quantity, and then to bury all this under ground, especially in an Age in which so much gold was ten times the



value of what is at present for it is judged to have been done about four or five hundred year agoe.

< The Prince went out a hunting while we were there, with a very handsome Guard of about fourscore Horse, well mounted; so we saw the Palace, but were not suffered to see the Apartment where he lodged: There is a great Silver Casquette gilt, all set with Emeralds and Rubies, that tho they made a fine appearance, yet were a Composition of the Princes own making: His Officers also shewed us a Basen and Ewer, which they said were of Mercury fixed by the Prince himself; but they added that now for many years he wrought no more in his Labouratory. I did not easily beleieve this, and as the weight of the Plate did not approach to that of Quick-Silver, so the Medicinal Vertues of fixed Mercury, if < there is any such thing, are so extraordinary, that it seemed very strange to see twenty or thirty pound of it made up in two p eces of Plate. A quarter of a mile without the Town, the best Garden of those < parts of Germany is to be seen, in which there is a great variety of Water-works, and very many Noble Allies in the French manner, and the whole is of a very considerable extent; but as it hath no Statues of any value to adorn it, so the House about which it lieth is in ruins; and it is strange to see that so rich and so great a Prin-

Prince, during so long a Regence, hath done so little to enlarge or beautifie his Buildings. Bonne and Coblentz are both poor and small Towns. Collen is three Hours distant from Bonne, it is of a prodigious extent, but ill built and worse peopled in the remote parts of it: and as the Walls are all in an ill case, so it is not possible to fortifie so vast a compass as this Town maketh, as it ought to be, without a charge that would eat out the whole VVealth of this little State. The Jews live in a little Suburb on the other side of the River, and may not come over without leave obtained, for which they pay considerably. There is no exercise of the Protestant Religion suffered within the Town, but those of the Religion are suffered to live there, and they have a Church at two miles distance. The Arsenal here, is suitable to the Fortifications, very mean, and ill furnished. The Quire of the great Church is as high in the roof, as any Church I ever saw: but it seemeth the VVealth of this place could not finish the whole Fabrick, so as to answer the height of the Quire, for the Body of the Church is very low: Those that are disposed to beleeve Legends, have enough here to overset even a good degree of credulity, both in the story of the three Kings, whose Chappel is visited with great devotion, and standeth at the East end of the great Quire; and in that more copious Fable of the eleven thousand



Ursulins, whose Church is all over full of rough Tombs, and of a vast number of Bones that are piled up in rows about the Walls of the Church: These Fables are so firmly beleaved by the Papists there, that the least sign which one giveth of doubting of their truth, passeth for an infallible mark of an Heretick. The Jesuites have a great and noble colledge and Church here. And for Thauler's sake I went to the Dominicans House and Church, which is also very great. One grows cxtreamly weary of walking over this great Town, and doth not find enough of entertainment in it: The present subject of their discourse is also very melancholy: The late Rebellion that was there, is so generally known, that I need not say much concerning it. A report was set about the Town, by some Incendiaries, that the Magistrates did eat up the publick Revenue, and were like to ruine the City; I could not learn what ground there was for these reports, for it is not ordinary to see reports of that kind fly, through a body of men, without some foundation: It is certain this came to be so generally beleaved, that there was a horrible disorder occasioned by it: The Magistrates were glad to save themselves from the storm, and abandoned the Town to the popular fury, some of them having been made sacrifices to it; and this rage held long: But within this last year, after near two years disorder, those that were sent by the Emperor and Diet to Judge the

a Rebel  
lion at C.

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matter, having threatned to put the Town under the Imperial Bann, if it had stood longer out, were received; and have put the Magistrates again in the possession of their Authority, and all the chief Incendiaries were clapt in Prison: many have already suffered, and a great many more are still in Prison: they told us that some executions were to be made within a week when we were there. Dusseldorp is the first considerable Town below Collen, it is the Seat of the Duke of Juliers, who is Duke Newburgh, eldest son to the present Elector Palatine. The Palace is old and Gothick enough: but the Jesuites have there a fine Colledge, and a noble Chapel, tho there are manifest faults in the Architecture: the Protestant Religion is tolerated and they have a Church lately built here with these few years, that was procured by the intercession of the Elector of Brandenburg, who observing exactly the liberty of Religion that was agreed to in Cleve, had reason to see the same as duly observed in his neighborhood, in favors of his own Religion. The Fortification here is very ordinary, the Ramparts being faced but a few foot high with Brick. But Keiserswart some hours lower on the same side, which belongeth to the Elector of Collen, tho it is a much worse Town then Dusseldorp, yet is much better fortified: it hath a very broad Ditch, and a very regular Fortification: the Walls are considerably high, faced with Brick, and so is the Counterscarp which is also in a very good

*at Dusseldorp there is a fine Collection of pictures, also the Elector has a very fine Closet*



*Belongs to the K. of Prussia*  
 condition. The Fortification of Orsoy is now quite demolished. Rhineberg continueth as it was, but the Fortification is very mean, only of Earth, so that it is not capable of making a great resistance. And Wesel, tho it is a very fine Town, yet is a very poor Fortification, nor can it ever be made good, except at a vast expence: for the ground all about it being sandy, nothing can be made there that will be durable, unless the foundation go very deep, or that it be laid upon Piloty.

V.p. 291. In all these Towns one sees an other air of Wealth and abundance then in much richer Countries that are exhausted with taxes. Rees and Emmerick are good Towns, but the Fortifications are quite ruined. So that here is a rich and a populous Country, that hath at present very little defence, except what it hath from its scituation. Cleve is a delicious place, the scituation and prospect are charming, and the Air is very pure, and from thence we came hither in three hours. *to Nimegue.*

*NB* { I will not say one word of the Countrey into which I am now come, for as I know that is needless to you on many accounts, so a Picture that I see here in the Stadthouse, puts me in mind of the perfectest Book of its kind that is perhaps in being, for Sir William Temple, whose Picture hangeth here at the upper end of the Plenipotentiaries that negotiated the famous Treaty of Nimmegen, hath indeed set a pattern to the World, which is done with such life, that it may justly make others blush to copy after it, since it must be

*Observations Upon the United Netherland  
 by S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Temple*

acknowledged, that if we had as perfect an account of the other places, as he hath given us of one of the least, but yet one of the Noblest patcels of the Universe, Travelling would become a needless thing, unless it were for diversion: since one findeth no further occasion for his curiosity in this Country, then what is fully satisfied by his rare performance. Yet I cannot give overwriting, without reflecting on the resistance that this place made, when so many other places were so basely delivered up, tho one doth not see in the ruines of the Fortification here, how it could make so long a resistance: yet it was that that stem'd the tide of a progress that made all the World stand amazed; and it gave a little time to the Dutch to recover themselves out of the consternation, into which so many blows, that came so thick one after another, had struck them.

But then the World saw a change, that tho it hath not had so much Incense given to it, as the happy conjuncture of another Prince hath drawn after it, with so much excess, that all the topicks of flattery seem exhausted by it, yet will appear to posterity one of the most surprizing Scenes in History, and that which may be well matched with the recovery of the Roman State after the Battel of Canne. VVhen a young Prince, that had never before born Arms, or so much as seen a Campagne, who had little or no Council about him but that which was suggested which from his own thoughts,



thoughts , and that had no extraordinary advantage , by his Education either for literature or affairs , was of a sudden set at the head of a State and Army , that was sunk with so many losses ; and that saw the best half of its Soil torn from it ; and the powerfull est Enemy in the World , surrounded with a Victorious army that was commanded by the best Generalls that the Age hath produced , come within sight , and settle his Court in one of best Towns , and had at the same time the greatest force both by Sea and Land , that hath been known , united together for its destruction. When the Inhabitants were forced , that they might save themselves from so formidable an Enemy , to let loose that which on all other occasions , is the most dreadfull to them ; and to drown so great a part of their Soil for the preservation of the rest : and to complicate together all the miseries that a Nation can dread , when to the general consternation with which so dismal a Scene possessed them , a distraction within doors seemed to threaten them with the last strokes ; and while their Army was so ill disciplined , that they durst scarce promise themselves any thing from such feeble Troops , after a Peace at Land of almost thirty years continuance ; and while their chief Ally , that was the most concerned in their preservation , was , like a great paralitick body , liker to fall on those that it pretended to support , and to crush them , then to give them any considerable assistance : When I say a young Prince

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came at the head of all this, the very prospect of which would have quite damp't an ordinary courage, he very quickly changed the Scene, he animated the Publike Councils with a generous vigour: he found them sinking into a feebleness of hearkning to Propositions for a peace, that were as little safe as they were honorable, but he disposed them to resolve on hazarding all, rather than to submit to such Infamous termes. His credit also among the populace seemed to inspire them with a new life: they easily persuaded themselves that as one WILLIAM Prince of ORANGE had formed their State, so here another of the same name seemed marked out to recover and preserve it. It was this Spirit of Courage which he derived from his own breast, and infused into the whole people, as well as into the Magistracy that preserved this Countrey. Some thing there was in all this that was Divine. The publike Councils were again settled, and the people were at quiet when they saw him vested with a full authority for that time with Relation to peace and warre, and concluded they were safe, because they were in his hands. It soon appeared how faithfully he pursued the Interest of his Countrey, and how little he regarded his own. He rejected all Propositions of Peace that were hurtfull to his Countrey, without so much as considering the advantages that were offered to himselfe, ( in which you know that I write upon sure grounds. ) He refused the offer of the Sovereignty of its Chieffe City, that  
was



was made to him by a solemn Deputation, being satisfied with that Authority which had been so long maintained by his Ancestors with so much glory, and being justly sensible, how much the breaking in upon established lawes and liberties, is fatall even to those that seem to get by it. He thus began his public appearance on the stage, with all the disadvantages that a Spirit aspiring to true Glory could wish for; since it was Visible that he had nothing to trust to, but a good cause, a favorable Providence, and his own Integrity and Courage: nor was succeſſe wanting to such Noble beginnings; for he in a short time, with a Conduct and Spirit beyond any thing that the World hath yet seen, recovered this State, out of so desperate a distemper, took some places by main force, and obliged the Enemy to abandon all that they had acquired in so feeble a manners. And if a raw Army had not alwaies succeſs against more numerous and better trained Troops, and if the want of Magazines and Stores in their Allies Country, which was the chief Scene of the War, made that he could not Post his Army, and wait for favourable circumstances, so that he was sometimes forced to run to action, with a haste that his necessities imposed upon him; yet the forcing of the beginnings of a Victory out of the hands of the greatest General of the Age, the facing a great Monarch with an Army much inferior to his, when the other was

was too cautious to hazard an engagement, and in short the forming the Dutch Army to such a pitch that it became visibly Superior to the French, that seemed to have been fed with Conquests: and the continuing the War, till the Prince that had sacrificed the quiet of Europe to his GLORY, was glad to come and treat for a Peace in the Enemies Country, and in this very place, and to set all Engines on work to obtain that, by the mediation of some, and the jealousies of other Princes: all these are such performances that posterity will be disposed to rank them rather among the idea's of what an imaginary Hero could do, then with what could be really transacted in so short a time, and in such a manner. And in conclusion every place that belonged to these States, and to their Neighbors along Rhine, together with a great many in Flanders, being restored; these Provinces do now see themselves under his happy Conduct, reestablished in their former peace and security. And tho some scars of such deep wounds do still remain, yet they find themselves considered on all hands, as the Bulwark of Christendom, against the fears of a new Monarchy, and as the preservers of the peace and liberty of Europe.

Here is a Harvest, not for forced Rhetoric, or false Eloquence, but for a severe and sincere Historian, capable of affording a work that will far exceed all those luscious Panegyrics of mercenary pens: but  
a small



a small or a counterfeit Jewel must be set with all possible advantages, when a true one of great value needs only to be shewed. I cannot end with a greater subject, and I must acknowledge my self to be so inflamed with this hint, that as I cannot after this bring my pen down to lower matters, so I dare not trust my self too long, to the heat that so Noble an Object inspires, therefore I break off abruptly.

YOURS.

AD.

## A D D E N D A.

Ad Page 210. l. 22.

The same learned person has since my first conversation with him upon this subject, suggested to me two passages of Festus Pompeius, that seem to determine this whole matter: and that tell us by what names those Catacombs were known in the Roman time, whereabouts they were, and what sort of persons were laid in them, we have also the designation by which the bearers were commonly known, and the time when they carried out the dead bodies: and it appears particularly by them that in the repositories of which that author makes mention, there was no care taken to preserve the bodies that were laid in them from rotting. His words are. *Puticulos antiquissimum genus sepultura appellatos, quod ibi in puteis sepelirentur homines: qualis fuerit locus quo nunc cadavera projici solent, extra portam Esquilinam: quos quod ibi putescerent, inde prius appellatos existimat Aelius Gallus, qui ait antiqui moris fuisse, ut patres familias in locum publicum extra oppidum mancipia vilia projicerent, atque ita projecta, quod ibi ea putescerent, nomen esse factum puticuli.* The other passage runs thus. *Vespa & Vespillones dicuntur, qui funerandis corporibus officium gerunt, non a minutis illis volucris, sed quia vespertino tempore eos efferunt, qui funebri pompa duci propter inopiam nequeunt.* All this agrees so exactly to the thoughts that a generall view of those re-

puticoli — Vespa

V

po-



positories give a man, that it will not hard to persuade him that those burying places that are now graced with the pompous title of Catacombs, are no other then the Puticoli mentioned by Festus Pompeius where the meanest sort of the Roman slaves were laid, and so without any further care about them were left to rot.

*Ad page 218. l. 1.*

I have since my being in Naples instructed one that was going thither in this particular, and have received this account from him; that he had taken care to plumm the water at the furthest pillar of Caligula's bridge on the Puzzolo side: and found it was seven fathom and a halfe deep: but he adds that the watermen assured him that that on the other side before Baia the water was 26. fathom deep: but as he had not a plummet long enough to try that, so he beleaved a good deal ought to be abated; for the watermen had assured him that the water was ten fathom deep an the Puzzolo side, tho upon triall he found it was only seven and a halfe: and by this measure one may suppose that the water is 20. fathom deep an the other side: so that it is one of the most astonishing things that one can think of that pillars of brick could have been built in such a depth of water.

N B. Maximilian Mifson observes  
 y<sup>t</sup> Suetonius in Vita Calig.  
 §. 19. Says it was a bridge  
 of boats y<sup>t</sup> Caligula built  
 in this place - as for the arches  
 y<sup>t</sup> remain to this day it was there  
 fashion of building a mole.

## E R R A T A.

**T**He Authors distance from the presse and the Printers ignorance of the English tongue has occasioned many literall errors and mistakis in the punctuation, which the Reader will easily find out, but these are the more remarkable.

Page 11. l. 15. but, r. both. p. 16. l. 14. ont, r. on. p. 33. l. 6. reseved, r. rescued, l. 15. know, r. knew. p. 34. l. 41. in, r. with. p. 35. l. 24. reseved, r. rescued. p. 41. l. 2. he, r. the. l. 3. woll, r. well. p. 39. l. 12. be! cause, r. because. l. 18. and 20. hinn, r. him. p. 42. l. 9. adcone, r. adde one. p. 44. l. 1. its, r. it. p. 63. l. 23. Coive, r. Coire. p. 66. l. 32. hinn, r. him. p. 69. l. 4. jects, r. Subjects. p. 80. l. 1. before Fuentes, r. fort. l. 3. after Valtelline a full point. l. 9. Tassane, r. Tossane. l. 20. Planta, r. Pianta. p. 92. l. 1. toewards, r. towards. l. 26. and, r. end. p. 95. l. 1. stic, r. sticks. p. 103. l. ult. demand. r. denied. p. 115. l. 6. Place, r. Palace. p. 107. l. 7. learning, r. leaving. l. 33. out, r. one. amarement, r. amasement. p. 108. l. 5. firn, r. fine. p. 129. l. 4. seca, r. sea. p. 140. l. 7. simple, r. single. p. 141. l. 19. came, r. come. p. 161. l. 24. deferred, r. deserved. visibile, r. visible. p. 163. l. 24. any, r. my. p. 167. l. 19. before selfe, r. it. p. 168. l. 19. pact, r. part. p. 172. l. 1. Walks, r. Walls, p. 170. l. 20. where, r. were. p. 184. l. 5. Magnificat, r. magnificent. p. 185. l. 12. preremption, r. preemption. p. 186. l. 11. way, r. was. p. 187. l. 3. Nations, r. notions. p. 189. l. 7. spail, r. spoil. p. 192. l. 30. Sate, r. State. p. 203. l. 32. S. r. Sta. p. 204. l. 11. stand, r. staied. p. 206. l. 12. intertalls, r. intervalls. p. 208. l. 22. notire, r. notice. l. 33. Vesserus, r. Velferus. p. 213. l. 21. before month, r. a. p. 226. l. 15. after very, r. litle. p. 228. l. 27. deed, r. decreed. p. 230. l. 14. snard, r. frand. p. 232. l. 4. after selfe, ~~dele a.~~ l. 16 Casuisterall, r. Casuisticall. p. 234. l. 30. the, r. that. p. 239. l. 2. Ro- strela, r. Rostrata. l. 26. after water, r. were reserved. p. 241. l. 22. after cannot, r. see. p. 242. l. 19. to, r. so. l. 28. fifteth, r. sitteth. p. 244. l. 16. exposed, r. expose. l. 22. after that, r. at. p. 246. l. 15. are. r. an. p. 248. l. 27. ~~dele a.~~ p. 250. l. 12. persone all, r. personall. p. 251. l. 12. upon, r. you. l. 13. after that, r. I. p. 254. l. 27. after as, ~~dele~~ not. p. 258. l. ult. 2. r. Q.



E R R A T A

The following errors have been discovered in the printed edition of the  
works of the English writers, and have been corrected in this edition.  
The errors are of various kinds, and are more numerous than in any  
other edition of the works of the English writers. The errors are of  
various kinds, and are more numerous than in any other edition of  
the works of the English writers. The errors are of various kinds, and  
are more numerous than in any other edition of the works of the  
English writers. The errors are of various kinds, and are more  
numerous than in any other edition of the works of the English  
writers. The errors are of various kinds, and are more numerous  
than in any other edition of the works of the English writers.

pag 290 the Rhine half an English  
my head.

Crup Judica; the Nut moz as in the  
Nux vomica

pag 203 The proof of the  
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I & O hys  
allama tra pmt de (4) yd